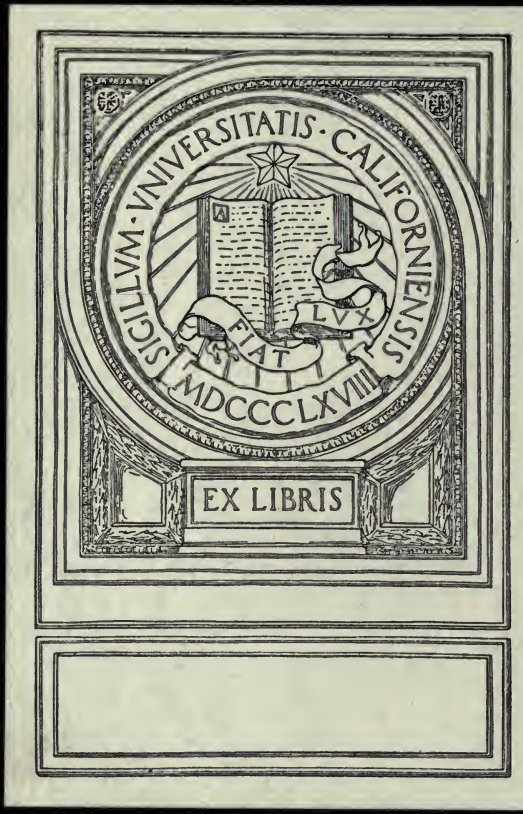
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Watch and pray beare
you know not the hour

JEREMY TAYLOR

A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND TIMES, WITH A POPULAR EXPOSITION OF HIS WORKS

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

BY

GEORGE WORLEY

Dioces. Roffen. Lector

"Such delights
As float to earth, permitted visitants!
When in some hour of solemn jubilee
The massive gates of Paradise are thrown
Wide open: and forth come in fragments wild
Sweet echoes of unearthly melodies,
And odours snatched from beds of Amaranth,
And they that from the crystal river of life
Spring up on freshened wing, ambrosial gales."

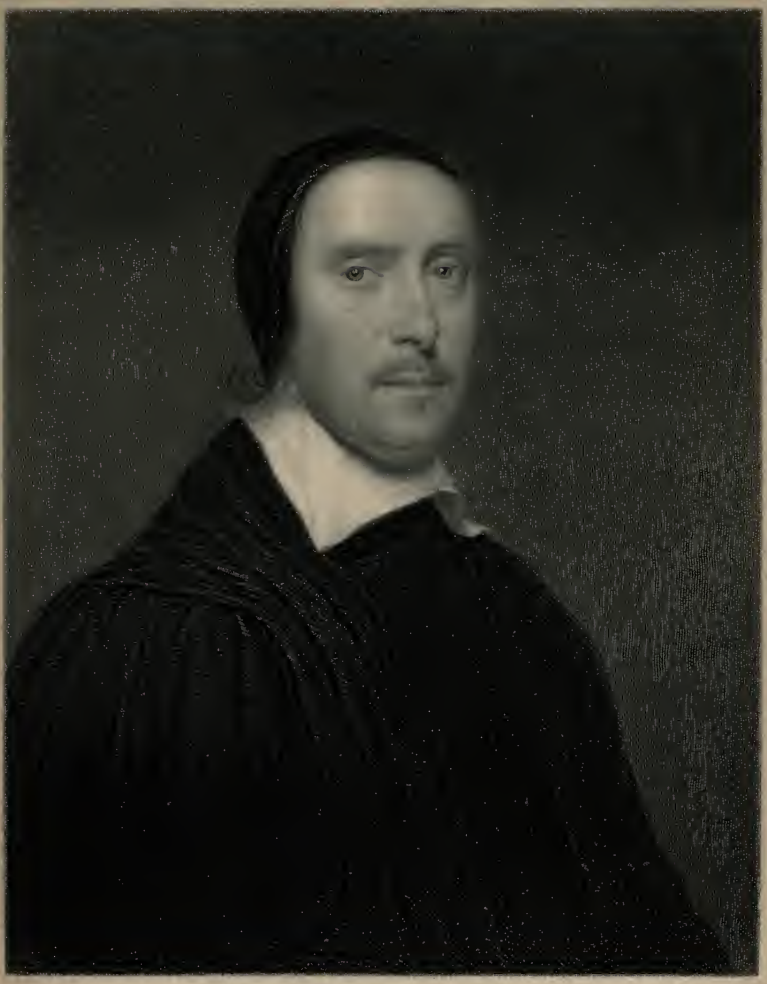
—S. T. COLERIDGE,
Religious Musings.

WITH A FRONTISPIECE

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CALIFORNIA



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JEREMY TAYLOR

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

EDWARD,

LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER,

THIS ESSAY IS INSCRIBED,

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF HIS FAITHFUL AND IMPARTIAL ADMINISTRATION OF A LARGE DIOCESE,

OF HIS AFFECTIONATE INTEREST IN THE ORDER OF LAY-READERS,

WHICH PROMISES TO BE ONE OF ITS MOST POTENT AGENCIES.

AND OF HIS PERSONAL KINDNESS TO ONE OF ITS MEMBERS.

988024

PREFACE.

THE popularity which Jeremy Taylor's works once enjoyed is shown in the following extract from an author, born less than four years after Taylor's death: "We see the Reverend Doctor's Treatises standing, as it were, in the front of this order of authors, and as the foremost of those Good Books used by the politest and most refined Devotees of either sex. They maintain the principal place in the study of almost every elegant and high Divine. They stand in folios and other volumes, adorned with variety of pictures, gildings, and other decorations, on the advanced shelves in glass cupboards of the lady's closets. They are in use at all seasons, and for all places; as well for Church Service as Closet Preparation; and, in short, may vie with any devotional books in British Christendom." [1]

[1] Earl of Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*, iii., 327.

From the high estate here described they have fallen into a condition of undeserved neglect, and that chiefly among the people to whom such reading would be most useful, *viz.*, the lay members of the Church of England.

It is mainly to my fellow laymen that the following pages are addressed. They are the result of a great deal of reading in Taylor's own works, as well as in the writings of his contemporaries and commentators, whether friendly or otherwise; and they aim at presenting the subject in an easy and popular form, in the hope that some may be attracted to it, and perhaps induced to complete for themselves a study to which they are here introduced. In other words, I simply desire to create an appetite to be gratified elsewhere, or to point out the way which the traveller may pursue alone at his leisure. To this end I have appended a Bibliography to the volume, containing a list of Jeremy Taylor's works, and a selection of other books and papers which may be usefully consulted as throwing light upon them, in addition to those referred to in the text.

The special object of this essay will explain why certain matters, with which the regular student is already well acquainted, are here dwelt on at length, while others (*e.g.*, the Bishop's career in

Ireland) are lightly touched on as less interesting, or less useful at present, to the reader immediately addressed.

While preparing my notes for the press I was gratified at the appearance of Mr. Edmund Gosse's admirable biography, which I thought would more than answer my own purpose, and, as the work of an expert, would render the publication of anything else unnecessary or injudicious. It has been pointed out to me, however, that the scope of the series to which the distinguished writer had contributed would preclude the consideration of Taylor's theology, which was quite as necessary to a full understanding of the great divine as the literary aspect on which his biographer was bound to dwell, and even more necessary for the particular readers I hoped to secure. In short, it seemed clear that there was plenty of room for two works, in which the same subject was treated so differently, and whose objects were far enough apart to prevent anything like a collision between them. Further than this, although I am conscious of the apparent act of presumption in entering a field already so well occupied, I am encouraged to go on with the publication by this very coincidence, inasmuch as it is most likely that Mr. Gosse's work will have helped to revive a general

interest in the neglected author, to which I am hoping to contribute in a special direction.

As regards Taylor's theology, I have confined myself to an exposition of it as deduced from his own statements, neither qualifying nor suppressing anything to accommodate his opinions to those of any particular school or party within or without the Church of England. If I have misinterpreted him in any doctrinal point, as is not unlikely when dealing with an author of his known ambiguity, I shall be only too glad to be set right.

In conclusion, I have to express my grateful acknowledgments to my friends Messrs. W. A. Kelk, A. W. Nott and A. F. Tait, for their valuable help and counsel; also to Dr. J. Venn, the Historian, and Dr. J. S. Reid, the Librarian of Gonville and Caius College, for their courteous readiness to give information and facilities during the preparation of this little work.

GEORGE WORLEY.

Michaelmas, 1904.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

1400-1600. PERIOD OF THE RENAISSANCE.

1613. Jeremy Taylor born and baptised at Cambridge.
1616. Sent to school.
1626. Sent to Caius College.
1631. Takes his B.A. degree and becomes Fellow of Caius.
1633. Takes his M.A. degree at Cambridge, and is ordained.
1635. Goes to Oxford and takes his M.A. degree at University College.
1635. Elected to All Souls' College.
1636. Fellow of all Souls'.
1638. Rector of Uppingham.
1638. Sermon on the "Gunpowder Treason" at St. Mary's, Oxford.
1639. Married to Phoebe Langsdale (or Lanisdale).
1640. Archbishop Laud committed to the Tower.
1642. Death of Taylor's first wife. Second marriage (to Joanna Bridges) soon follows; probably in the next year.
1642. King Charles I. raises his standard at Nottingham.
1642. Publication of *Episcopacy Asserted.*
1642. Obtains the D.D. degree.
1644. His Living sequestrated.
1645. Liturgy suppressed; the "Directory" substituted.
1645. Battle of Naseby and end of the Civil War.
1645. Execution of Archbishop Laud.
1646. Publication of *Defence of the Liturgy.*
1647. Publication of *Liberty of Prophesying.*
1649. Execution of King Charles I.
1650. Publication of *The Great Exemplar* (Life of Christ) and *Holy Living.*
1651. Publication of *Holy Dying.*

1651. Publication of *Twenty-seven Sermons for the Summer Half-year.*
1651. Publication of the *Clerus Domini* (Treatise on the Ministerial Office).
1653. Publication of *Twenty-five Sermons for the Winter Half-year.*
1654. Publication of *Treatise on the Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament.*
1655. Publication of *The Golden Grove* and imprisonment in Chepstow Castle.
1655. Publication of *Unum Necessarium* (Treatise on Repentance).
1656. Publication of *Deus Justificatus* (on Original Sin).
1658. Takes Lectureship at Lisburn.
1658. Publication of his *Collection of Offices;* imprisonment in the Tower.
1659. Second Edition of the *Liberty of Prophesying*, with the addition of the Story of Abraham and the Fire-worshipper.
1660. Restoration of Charles II.
1660. Publication of *Ductor Dubitantium*, with Dedication to the restored monarch.
1660. Publication of *The Worthy Communicant.*
1660. Appointed Bishop of Down and Connor.
1661. Dromore added to the See.
1661. Appointed Member of the Irish Privy Council.
1661. Savoy Conference.
1663. Publication of *Defence and Introduction to Confirmation.*
1664. Publication of *Dissuasive from Popery.*
1667. Death of Jeremy Taylor at Lisburn (13th August) and Burial in the Cathedral Church at Dromore.

CHAPTER I.

The Renaissance Movement—Some of its Results—Its Influence on English Literature—Exemplified in Bacon, Shakespeare, Robert Burton and Jeremy Taylor—Taylor's Classical Quotations—His Euphuism—Knowledge of Holy Scripture—His Mediævalism, Illustrated from his Advent Sermon—The Sombre Nature of his Genius, partly Constitutional, partly the Result of Suffering—General Influence of the Renaissance and Reformation on his Theology.

JEREMY TAYLOR was born at Cambridge in the year 1613.

In order rightly to understand the man and his work it will be desirable to cast our minds back a couple of hundred years over that important period known as the Renaissance, at the end of which he came into the world, as the movements of the time necessarily had a marked influence on his education and character, as well as on the subject-matter and style of his writings.

Great and glorious as the Middle Ages were in many respects, there can be no doubt that there is an element of truth in the epithet *dark* that has been applied to them. Human actions were fettered by unhealthy restrictions, the human mind was held in bondage by tradition and authority, and any attempt

at freedom was apt to involve him who was bold enough to make it in the pains and penalties of heresy, whether in the scientific or religious world. The "dim religious light" in a cathedral, tinted and subdued by the stained glass through which it passed, was typical of the intellectual twilight in which men thought and worked during that very earnest and noble, yet gloomy period which preceded the dawn of modern times.

All history is a series of reactions, and a reaction was sure to come sooner or later against a condition of things that was unnatural and fatal to true life and progress. Here and there individual thinkers, with the necessary originality of mind, and the courage of their opinions, had ventured to assert themselves from time to time against the dominant orthodoxy, in science, art, politics or religion, and had to rest under the odium of heterodoxy, or suffer the fate of martyrs, for their temerity; but towards the end of the fourteenth century a general reaction set in, which, originating in Italy, the centre and stronghold of the mediæval system, rapidly spread through Western Europe, eventually reaching, and very materially affecting thought and action in, our own country.

This movement has been appropriately called the Renaissance, or New-Birth; and it lasted with more or less intensity during the two centuries from 1400 to 1600. Its effects were manifested in three general directions—first, in a rebellion against an unjust and oppressive authority, a rebellion which was accompanied by the misdirected zeal of all powerful reac-

tions; secondly, in a recurrence to the principles and models of classical antiquity, not unaccompanied by the errors in taste and judgment characteristic of all revivals—in which respect it is to be noticed that the movement presents an interesting parallel to the Gothic resuscitation of the modern Catholic Revival; and thirdly, in the formulation of new theories and new doctrines, many of which, it must be confessed, were at least as absurd as those they attempted to displace. The Renaissance, in short, was not, and could not be, free from the mistakes and shortcomings of all great revolutions in which human nature, and human infirmities, have to be reckoned with. But after all, and in spite of all, the two centuries of its duration will always rank among the greatest and most interesting periods in the history of "God's family, the world," as Taylor calls it, as the time of transition between ancient and modern life, in which much that was pernicious was destroyed, much that was worth saving was recovered and preserved, and the foundations laid for that solid and useful superstructure on which our own day is still engaged.

The effects of this Renaissance have been felt in almost every department of human energy. In a religious direction it meant the Reformation, and the decline of the Papacy as the supreme arbiter in doctrinal questions. In a political direction it meant the death of Feudalism, and, simultaneously with the overthrow of the barons and their castles, a corresponding increase in the power of the people, and the growth of the towns in which they congregated. In

architecture it meant the return to classical models, and the creation thereon of that adulterated style which bears the name of the period. We owe to it the development of a new and more natural school of painting. We owe to it, or to the emancipation of the human spirit which was its most important consequence, most of the great inventions and discoveries that have benefited humanity. But of all its consequences, one of the most interesting, and that which most concerns us now, is its influence on literature. It was during this period that the national languages of modern Europe were formed. The days of Latin supremacy were numbered when such formidable rivals could be evoked from dialects and patois as we have in the works of Dante, Petrarch and Chaucer.[1]

Although, from its insular position and hereditary conservatism, England was necessarily somewhat behind Continental Europe in feeling and responding to the force of the Renaissance, the effects of that movement have nowhere been deeper or more lasting. This will probably be undisputed in the case of Art, which has always been slower in appealing to our practical nature than matters of more substantial advantage, but which in the long run has been as fairly appreciated here as elsewhere, while its character has nowhere, outside of Italy, been more pro-

[1] The progress of our own language during the Renaissance is illustrated in Gower, whose *Confessio Amantis* (written "in our English, for England's sake") is so far different from modern English as to be harder reading than modern German—in Chaucer, who shows what it was at the commencement of the movement; and in Shakespeare, who exhibits it in perfection at its close.

foundly influenced by the genius of the Renaissance than in England. In Science it may even be said that England has taken the lead, mainly under the inspiration of the great Francis Bacon—himself the special creation and embodiment of the movement—while in Literature, although special features have been given to it in this country by local conditions acting on individual genius, there can be no doubt that the original impulse came from the Continent; and its most glorious epoch here coincides with the full development of the movement in the reign of Elizabeth, and of the Stuarts, when we have such a constellation as Shakespeare, Spenser and Milton in poetry and the drama; Bacon and Newton in science and philosophy; Hooker in theology, and Jeremy Taylor, the exponent of Anglican Church doctrine, the classical preacher, and the master of poetic prose.

Without at all detracting from individual merit, we may nevertheless hold that great movements, rather than great individuals, are the chief creators of literature. The language understood and spoken by the people may be made classical by a writer like Dante, for instance; but the material whose value he has the insight to discern must already exist, though in an inchoate state, and the special inspiration under which he writes communicated to him from that spirit in the air, by which all men, consciously or unconsciously, are influenced. So that, while it cannot be denied that there are books, of occasional occurrence, which may be rightly termed "epoch-making," as giving a new direction to contemporary

thought, or even calling fresh thought into existence by the power of original genius, the process is, I am persuaded, more often reversed, and the epoch, or dominant interest and excitement of the time, gives the author the special suggestion for his work—and, further, makes it acceptable to his contemporaries because he gives definite expression to a truth (whether scientific, artistic or religious), which is already vaguely floating in many minds. This is illustrated very clearly in Francis Bacon, whose investigations would probably not have been made, and whose books never written, but for the inspiration of some such scientific, philosophic and literary interest as was created by the Renaissance, to which they were able to appeal successfully because the age was disposed to receive them. The same may be said of Shakespeare, Milton and Jeremy Taylor, and more or less of every writer of the period, who was made what he was by the circumstances and interests of his day, and wrote accordingly. Every distinguished English writer, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, exhibits the effect of the movement in one or other, frequently in both, of the two ways which might naturally be expected to follow its introduction into this country, *viz.*, in borrowing from the current literature of the land where it originated, or from the Greek and Latin classics brought into fashion by the Revival. It is interesting to notice in Shakespeare, for example, the frequency with which he lays his scenes in Italy, and takes Italian stories as the basis of his plays; also the free use he makes of classical

subjects, allusions and quotations, in their elaboration and adornment. Here he was but following the general tendency. Adaptations of Italian tales were the favourite reading in his day; Italian costumes and Italian etiquette gave the key to English fashion; while the Greek and Latin classics were part of every lady's and gentleman's education. Besides borrowing in an incidental and fragmentary way from foreign and classical sources, English writers devoted themselves to the translation of many whole works from the Latin, Italian and Spanish, before, or while, exhibiting their native strength in creative works of their own. Indeed, it has been conjectured that had Shakespeare been merely an educated gentleman, in the technical sense of the expression, he would probably have contented himself with such translations, and the world would have had to get on as well as it could without Macbeth and King Lear. Milton, on the other hand, *was* highly educated; and although this fact is sometimes quoted as an evidence of his original genius, *i.e.*, a genius that could not be spoilt or destroyed by the curriculum to which it was subjected, there can be no doubt that he owes much of the general direction, and more of the elaborate decoration, of his poetry to the special education resulting from the Renaissance and Reformation movements. Both in Shakespeare and Milton we have a combination of Holy Scripture and classical paganism which could scarcely have been brought together at any other period without violating the orthodox sense of congruity. Much of this also applies to Jeremy Taylor,

whose writings, however, are of course subject to the modifications imposed by his priestly office and the ecclesiastical conditions under which he lived and worked. The influence of the Renaissance is chiefly noticeable in his case in the abundance of his classical quotations. In this respect I believe there is only one English or foreign author who goes beyond him, namely, Robert Burton, who brought out his *Anatomy of Melancholy* when Taylor was eight years old. It need scarcely be said that almost every other line of that remarkable book is a quotation, and that its classical treasures have been an easy source of scholarship to many a man without reading, while even such independent spirits as Milton and Swift are confessedly indebted to the "fantastic old great man". I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that there is no author of ancient or modern times who exceeds Burton in quotations; and we shall probably be right in placing Jeremy Taylor next to him, both writers being extreme illustrations of a very general practice which grew out of the revival of classical learning. In their case the borrowed beauties usually add some force or illumination to the text; but the practice was illegitimately used by inferiors who interlarded their commonplace remarks with classical precedents and citations to show off their second-hand scholarship by saws and instances only less forcible than the English they were supposed to illustrate. This absurdity has been ridiculed by Shakespeare in various places.[1]

[1] *E.g.*, "*Falstaff*. There is a thing, Harry, which thou hast often heard of, and it is known to many in our land by the name of

But abundant as Jeremy Taylor's classical allusions and quotations are, they are generally beautiful and to the point, and instructive as throwing light on the enormous range and variety of his studies. To a modern ear it is quite possible that this practice of his may seem to hinder the flow if not to weaken the force of his own language. But if any one attempts to prune him, he will find that he has spoilt the effect. The experiment has, in fact, been tried in certain new editions, put forth in red edges and pretty bindings as an aid to the luxurious devotions of young Christians. Whether the object of the editors has been answered in this respect I have never heard, but it is certain that such mutilated editions have no attraction for students, and it seems little short of profanity to thus tamper with a classic, without even the excuse of the educationist who may have certain moral reasons for expurgation.

In addition to the incidental introduction of a suitable verse or proverb from pagan writers, our author sometimes uses it as a text on which to descant in his own matchless prose. Perhaps the best case in point will be found at the opening of *Holy Dying*,

pitch: this pitch, *as ancient writers do report*, doth defile . . . " (*Henry IV.*, pt. i., act ii., sc. iv.).

"*Armado.* Comfort me, boy; what great men have been in love?
Moth. Hercules, master.
Armado. Most sweet Hercules! More authority, dear boy,
Name more; and, sweet my child, let them be men
of good repute and carriage."
—*Love's Labour's Lost*, act i., sc. ii.

See also the scene between Holofernes and Sir Nathaniel in the same play, act v., sc. i.

where he quotes the Greek proverb that "Man is a bubble" with Lucian's amplification, and draws out and elaborates the image of life which it suggests into one of the finest and most poetical passages in our literature. It will be obvious that the particular quotation could not be omitted, as has been done in one of the editions just referred to, without destroying the point of the allegory built upon it. Many a reader, however, might prefer to see less important quotations left out, where they are not inseparably woven into the texture of the work, but appear to involve a useless digression. Yet even here a more mature taste would regret the damage caused to the author's peculiar style by the omission. He is naturally discursive, and is frequently tempted off the main line of his argument by a subsidiary thought; but he usually returns to it again, and like Burton whose work strikes a superficial reader as a mere disconnected farrago, he will be found if carefully followed to have a method and system of his own. In this matter he reminds us of De Quincey among modern writers—and who would wish for an expurgation of the delightful rambles from the Opium-Eater, who by the way (in common with all the Lake School) was a great admirer of Bishop Taylor?

Perhaps he may be best enjoyed after reading some modern author whose style and method furnish the necessary contrast. In John Henry Newman's sermons, for instance, we have the perfection of modern English, with a close and logical adherence to the main subject, and quite a remarkable absence

of quotation or other artificial embellishment. It is no disparagement to this great writer to say that any sermon of Bishop Taylor's will be an agreeable change after one of his, so widely different are the respective styles.

It has been suggested that another way to enjoy Taylor's writings is to read them aloud. The Euphuism made fashionable in English conversation and literature by John Lyly in the sixteenth century has often been held up to ridicule, and in the main deservedly, since the day of its popularity; but in spite of its artificiality its influence on our language has not been wholly pernicious. It aimed, amongst other things, at making sentences musical and sonorous, an effect which would be lost in silent reading, but which, within limits, would be likely to strengthen the force of dramatic passages and pulpit oratory, giving them some of the effects of blank verse. It is not saying anything against Shakespeare to speak of him as an Euphuist. Of course he is a great deal more; but it would have been very strange if he had been quite exempt from a fashion of universal influence in his day. The mere sound of his phrases is stirring and effective, without reference to their meaning; and even this is often roughly indicated by the appropriateness of the sound to the thing signified —as may, in fact, be said of certain passages in Homer, whose general drift and significance may sometimes be inferred from the sound, without a knowledge of Greek—and this quite irrespective of the aid to translation afforded by intonation and

gesture. The advantages of this kind of Euphuism to a great preacher like Jeremy Taylor are sufficiently obvious. It must be confessed, on the other hand, that its indulgence is apt to destroy the simplicity of his style. No doubt he has many passages which might have been expressed more briefly and naturally, and strike a modern ear, trained in the simple majesty of the ancient classics, or the English translations of Holy Scripture, as over-grandiloquent for the self-evident and elementary truth they contain. On the other hand let us remember that there is a great difference between listening to and reading a sermon. In the former case the preacher has to consider the immediate impression on his audience, where so much depends on the circumstances of the moment, the voice and manner of the preacher, and the euphony of his sentences, all of which are lost in silent perusal. Hence many sermons which have created what is called a "sensation" on delivery are extremely flat and uninteresting when read afterwards. It is the glory of Jeremy Taylor that his sermons are equally satisfactory whether read to oneself or aloud. Bearing in mind the conditions just mentioned, we no longer wonder at the effect they produced on his usually large congregations, though there is so much in them to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest, that we are apt to feel sorry for those who only heard them once, and to think that we have the advantage in being able to read them over and over again.

The reasons I have suggested will probably account for the fact that his sermons are far more ornate and

less simple in style than his devotional works, *e.g.*, the *Worthy Communicant*, and the little book of instruction and devotions known as *The Golden Grove*, where everything is subordinated to a practical object. But the simplest specimens of his style are to be found in his prayers, and that for the obvious reason that in addressing the Almighty any display of human eloquence, except that which naturally springs from the heart, would be irreverent and out of place.

Euphuism, with its high-sounding phrases, display of learning, and luxurious indulgence in precedents and citations, was almost a necessary product of the classical Renaissance, and Jeremy Taylor could hardly be exempt from the prevailing fashion. Still, by the time he wrote, it had so far decayed as to lose much of its exaggeration and absurdity, and he exhibits it perhaps in its most refined and agreeable form. Anyhow, whatever criticism may be applied to our author in this matter must also be applied to his great contemporary Milton, the gorgeous opulence of whose style, with its piled-up imagery, and exhibition of learning, could not be spared by the most severe and exacting critic.[1]

[1] It may be interesting to note that Euphuism, though the name was coined from John Lyly's *Euphues*, published in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, has been traced to its supposed inventor in Antonio de Guevara (1470-1544), Chronicler and Court Preacher to Charles V., Bishop of Cadiz, and afterwards of Mondonedo. There is an obvious resemblance between his style and that of Bishop Taylor. Another distinguished foreign author whom ours resembles still more closely in anecdote and poetical imagery was Fray Luis de Granada (1504-1588). Both these

Besides the ancient classics, Taylor quotes freely from, and perhaps still more frequently alludes to, the Holy Scriptures. Herein he exhibits another fruit of the Renaissance, or of the religious Reformation which was its most eventful consequence. Friends of that movement naturally pride themselves on the wide knowledge and popularity of the Bible which it induced; but the previous ignorance of the subject is often exaggerated, under a mistaken notion of our indebtedness to the Reformers, or with the view of enlarging our obligations to Protestant writers. Such people are apt to forget, if they ever knew, the abundant use which the early Fathers made of Scripture, and the prominence given to it by mediæval preachers and writers. What we really owe to the movement is the translation of the Bible into the vernacular languages, which of course brought it home more closely to the people, and enabled them to study it more fully for themselves than was possible from the disconnected selections brought before them in the public offices of the Church. One of the results of the Reformation was to supplement the brief readings in the Epistles and Gospels by the regular and systematic study of the Scriptures

writers were translated into English in the sixteenth century, and have been resuscitated, with modifications, in our own day by Mr. Orby Shipley in his series called the *Ascetic Library*. I trust I shall not be accused of insular prejudice if I say that Bishop Taylor is far superior to either of them. They both abound in quotations from Holy Scripture and the Fathers, but draw much less freely than our own author on the classical poets and philosophers. That, of course, is not the special reason for my preference.

as a whole. This is illustrated in the lectionary of the Anglican Church, which aims at conveying the whole of the Old and New Testaments, in consecutive order, to its members.[1]

Previous to the translation of Scripture into modern languages it was, of course, quoted in the original, or from the Septuagint or Vulgate, which were eventually dropped as they were superseded by versions more directly intelligible. But long before the Reformation it was customary for writers, and especially for preachers, to append a translation of their own to the texts they introduced, a practice which was continued during the progress of the movement, as is repeatedly illustrated in Hooker, Bacon and Jeremy Taylor, and even later writers.

Besides the religious motive by which translators were influenced, there was another which must have led sooner or later to translations of the Bible, and that was the thirst for knowledge of all kinds generated by the Renaissance as an educational movement. The classical writers happened to attract a large share of public attention, but it was impossible that the Scriptures should long remain in the secrecy of a dead language, when it was once realised that so much of the wisdom for which the classics were explored could be found in an unadulterated form in the sacred

[1] It may be noticed that the compilers of the revised modern lectionary have paid an accidental compliment to the mediæval liturgists by a modified return to the principle of selection, by omitting certain chapters, and curtailing others, that were included *in extenso* by their predecessors in the daily lessons; also by making a freer use of the excellent morality of the Apocryphal Books.

library. It is scarcely too much to say that all the really sublime thoughts of the great classics, at all events on moral questions, occur in Scripture, quite as beautifully and poetically expressed, and often in language remarkably parallel to that employed by writers necessarily ignorant of that source of information—a resemblance very suggestive of a common inspiration.[1]

This is not the place to dilate on Shakespeare's knowledge and use of the Bible, and as the Authorised Version was only made a few years before his death we can scarcely suppose him to have been much indebted to it. In other respects, almost all that has been said of him is also applicable to Jeremy Taylor. The latter was well acquainted with the Authorised Version, and frequently quotes it. It will be noticed, however, that his quotations are not always verbally correct; whether through relying on his memory, and satisfied with giving the *sense* of a passage, or exercising the right of an independent thinker in substituting a translation of his own, is no great matter. There can be no doubt that he was thoroughly saturated with the spirit of the Holy Scriptures, which pervades all his works. "The house was filled with the odour of the ointment."

[1] "Thucydides, Tacitus, Machiavel, Bacon or Harrington. These are red-letter names even in the almanacs of worldly wisdom: and yet I dare challenge all the critical benches of infidelity to point out any one important truth, any one efficient, practical direction or warning which did not pre-exist, and for the most part in a sounder, more intelligible, and more comprehensive form, in the Bible."—S. T. Coleridge, *The Statesman's Manual, A Lay Sermon.*

In spite of Renaissance and Reformation influences, Jeremy Taylor had drunk too deeply at the fountains of mediævalism, and was by nature and education too sympathetic with its ecclesiastical system and literature to break entirely away from its supremacy. His works exhibit him in the character of a Janus, one face turned lovingly towards the past, the other towards modern times, into whose spirit he entered with the restrictions placed upon him by the counterbalancing influences of history, tradition and authority.

It will be sufficient here to refer to a single illustration on this point from his description of the Second Advent, and the punishment of the damned, obviously suggested by the imagery of the mediæval poets and theologians, which in the dreadful realism of its details reminds us of the *Inferno* of Dante, the pictures of Michael Angelo and the sermons of Savonarola.

Coleridge accounts for it as follows :—

"Could we endure for a moment to think that a spirit like Bishop Taylor's, burning with Christian love—that a man constitutionally overflowing with pleasurable kindliness, who scarcely even in a casual illustration introduces the image of woman, child or bird but he embalms the thought with so rich a tenderness as makes the very words seem beauties and fragments of poetry from Euripides and Simonides —can we endure to think that a man so natured and so disciplined did at the time of composing this horrible picture attach a sober feeling of reality to the phrases? Do we not rather feel and understand that these violent words were mere bubbles and flashes and electrical

apparitions from the magic caldron of a fervid and ebullient fancy, constantly fuelled by an unexampled opulence of language?"

The sermon referred to is the first in the series for the Christian year, and the text is taken from 2 Corinthians v. 10. The discourse is in three parts, each of which is a complete sermon, dealing with certain aspects of the great subject. I give a quotation from each part to illustrate what has been said above:—

"In final and extreme events, the multitude of sufferers does not lessen but increase the sufferings; and when the first day of judgment happened, that (I mean) of the universal deluge of waters on the old world, the calamity swelled like the flood, and every man saw his friend perish, and the neighbours of his dwelling, and the relatives of his house, and the sharers of his joys, and yesterday's bride, and the new-born heir, the priest of the family, and the honour of the kindred, all dying or dead, drenched in water and the Divine vengeance; and then they had no place to flee unto, no man cared for their souls; they had none to go unto for counsel, no sanctuary high enough to keep them from the vengeance that rained down from heaven; and so shall it be at the Day of Judgment, when that world and this, and all that shall be born hereafter, shall pass through the same Red Sea, and be all baptised with the same fire, and be involved in the same cloud, in which shall be thunderings and terrors infinite; every man's fear shall be increased by his neighbour's

shrieks, and the amazement that all the world shall be in shall unite as the sparks of a raging furnace into a globe of fire, and roll on its own principle, and increase by direct appearances and intolerable reflections. He that stands in a churchyard in the time of a great plague and hears the passing bell perpetually telling the sad stories of death, and sees crowds of infected bodies pressing to their graves, and others sick and tremulous, and death dressed up in all the images of sorrow round about him, is not supported in his spirit by the variety of his sorrow: and at Doomsday, when the terrors are universal, besides that it is itself so much greater because it can affright the whole world, it is also made greater by communications and a sorrowful influence; grief being then strongly infectious, when there is no variety of state, but an entire kingdom of fear; and amazement is the king of all our passions, and all the world its subjects: and that shriek must needs be terrible, when millions of men and women, at the same instant, shall fearfully cry out, and the noise shall mingle, to the trumpet of the Archangel, with the thunders of the dying and groaning heavens, and the crack of the dissolving world, when the whole fabric of Nature shall shake into dissolution and eternal ashes."—*Advent Sermon*, part i.

In the second part the devil is represented as the "Accuser of the brethren" against whom he pleads with the Judge as follows:—

"They were Thine by creation, but mine by their own choice; Thou didst redeem them indeed, but they

sold themselves to me for a trifle, or for an unsatisfying interest; Thou diedst for them, but they obeyed my commandments; I gave them nothing, I promised them nothing but the filthy pleasure of a night, or the joys of madness, or the delights of a disease; I never hanged on the cross three long hours for them, nor endured the labours of a poor life thirty-three years together for their interest: only when they were Thine by the merit of Thy death, they quickly became mine by the demerit of their ingratitude; and when Thou hadst clothed their soul with Thy robe, and adorned them by Thy graces, we stripped them naked as their shame, and only put on a robe of darkness, and they thought themselves secure and went dancing to their grave like a drunkard to a fight, or a fly into a candle; and, therefore, they that did partake with us in our faults must divide with us in our portion and fearful interest."—*Ibid.*, part ii.

"The evil portion shall be continued without intermission of evil; no days of rest, no nights of sleep, no ease from labour, no periods of the stroke nor taking off the hand, no intervals between blow and blow, but a continued stroke, which neither shortens the life nor introduces a brawny patience, or the toleration of an ox, but it is the same in every instant, and great as the first stroke of lightning; the smart is as great for ever as at the first change from the rest of the grave to the flames of that horrible burning. . . .

"It is certain that the torments of hell shall certainly last as long as the soul lasts; for eternal and ever-

lasting can signify no less but to the end of that duration, to the perfect end of the period which it signifies. So Sodom and Gomorrah, when God rained down hell from heaven on the earth (as Salvian's expression is) they are said 'to suffer the vengeance of eternal fire,' that is, of a fire that consumed them finally, and they never were restored: and so the accursed souls shall suffer torments till they be consumed; who, because they are immortal either naturally or by gift, shall be tormented for ever, or till God shall take from them the life that He restored to them on purpose to give them a capacity of being miserable, and the best that they can expect is to despair of all good, to suffer the wrath of God never to come to any minute of felicity, or of a tolerable state, and to be held in pain till God be weary of striking."—*Ibid.*, part iii.

Coleridge is no doubt right in attributing this vividness of description to the poet's "ebullient fancy and opulence of language"; but we cannot ignore the other influence suggested, or the writer's natural temperament, rendered still more sad by the troubles of his time and his personal sufferings. As in the case of Byron, his thoughts, naturally sombre, were brought out by pain, and the height of his genius coincided with the depth of his misfortunes. He always seems at his best in dealing with the melancholy realities of life, with which he had the truest sympathy of personal experience. The allusion to a churchyard in the first of the above quotations was probably suggested by the scenes of the great plague, and we shall call attention to other passages as we proceed that owe

their vividness to real events which our author had in mind or before his eyes.

The passages just quoted have an interesting parallel in a description of the miseries of the present world which ranks among the sublimest passages in our literature. It occurs in the first chapter (sec. 5) of his *Holy Dying*, and leads one to think that if the place of torment is only a little worse the mediæval idea may not be far wrong after all.

"He that is no fool, but can consider wisely, if he be in love with this world we need not despair but that a witty man might reconcile him with tortures, and make him think charitably of the rack, and be brought to admire the harmony that is made by a herd of evening wolves when they miss their draught of blood in their midnight revels. The groans of a man in a fit of the stone are worse than all these; and the distractions of a troubled conscience are worse than those groans: and yet a careless, merry sinner is worse than all that. But if we could, from one of the battlements of heaven, espy how many men and women at this time lie fainting and dying for want of bread, how many young men are hewn down by the sword of war; how many poor orphans are now weeping over the graves of their father, by whose life they were enabled to eat; if we could but hear how many mariners and passengers are at this present in a storm, and shriek out because their keel dashes against a rock or bulges under them; how many people there are that weep with want, and are mad with oppression, or are desperate by a too quick sense of a constant infelicity;

in all reason we should be glad to be out of the noise and participation of so many evils. This is a place of sorrows and tears, of great evils and constant calamities: let us remove hence, at least in affections and preparations of mind."

It will be seen that our author describes the sufferings of earth in the above passage with much more exactness and precision than he describes the future state of the wicked. In one case his description is warranted by the facts of daily experience; in the other, when speaking in his own person, he confines himself to the language of Scripture, with such amplification as it fairly admits, leaving his hearers to put a literal or figurative interpretation thereon. When, however, he descends into particulars which are necessarily more or less conjectural, he generally quotes the authority of another, sometimes to express his dissent from it, *e.g.* :—

"The Church of Rome, amongst other strange opinions, hath inserted this one into her public offices: that the perishing souls in hell may have sometimes remission and refreshment, like the fits of an intermitting fever; for so it is in the *Roman Missal* printed at Paris, 1626, in the Mass for the dead: Ut quia de ejus vitæ qualitate diffidimus, etsi plenam veniam anima ipsius obtinere non potest, saltem vel inter ipsa tormenta quæ forsan patitur, refrigerium de abundantia miserationum tuarum sentiat; and something like this is that of Prudentius :—

> Sunt et spiritibus sæpe nocentibus
> Pœnarum celebres sub Styge feriæ, etc.

"The evil spirits have ease of their pain, and he names their holiday, then when the resurrection of our Lord from the grave is celebrated—

Marcent suppliciis Tartara mitibus, etc.

They then thought that when the paschal taper burned, the flames of hell could not burn till the holy wax was spent; but because this is a fancy without ground or revelation, and is against the analogy of all those expressions of our Lord, 'where the worm dieth not, and the fire is never quenched,' and divers others, it is sufficient to have noted it without further consideration—the pains of hell have no rest, no drop of water is allowed to cool the tongue, there is no advocate to plead for them, no mercy belongs to their portion, but fearful wrath and continual burnings."—*Advent Sermon*, part iii.

The impression left on the mind by this wonderful sermon is one of intense awe such as it was surely the intention of the sacred writers to produce by the anticipatory descriptions and warnings given on the subject in Holy Scripture. There can be no doubt that our author was a firm believer in the general truth of the Scripture predictions concerning it, if not in its detailed verbal inspiration, and therefore expressed himself in language most likely to bring these predictions home to his hearers—whether they were metaphorical or not being of little importance where exaggeration was impossible. It is also evident that he believed in eternal punishment, in the most literal

sense, without any of the qualifications elsewhere developed for its mitigation.

The full influence of the classical Renaissance and religious Reformation on Jeremy Taylor will best be seen when we come to the examination of his works in detail, the chief of which I hope to consider in the following chapters.

Before closing this introduction I may briefly notice the general effect on his theology. The spirit of inquiry and criticism let loose by the Reformation had laid bare many abuses and superstitions of the papal system. In many respects, therefore, as we should expect, the Anglican bishop is thoroughly Protestant, and is very direct and emphatic against doctrines and practices which he regards as erroneous. On the other hand, the extent of his reading under the educational stimulus of the revival of learning, and the necessity of mastering the Roman controversy in all its bearings, to which we must add the natural fairness of his mind, would give him a breadth of scholarship and a catholicity of view fatal to the narrow Protestantism of the Continental theologians and those who followed them in England. Consequently it is not surprising that extremists on either side should look upon him with suspicion; while, for the same reason, he is frequently quoted by rival controversialists, sheltering themselves under his authority and eager to claim him for religious schools of thought which differ widely from each other.[1] The true ac-

[1] In this matter he reminds us of a saying of the present Dean of St. Paul's when he first took up his canonry. "When I am at

count of his position may be given in the words of the Prayer Book, whose compilers he resembled in holding "the mean between the two extremes, of too much stiffness in refusing, and of too much easiness in admitting any variation" from the ancient Faith.

the Cathedral," he said, "I am set down as an extreme Ritualist, but when I am at —— (naming one of the advanced churches where he occasionally preached) they look upon me as an ultra-Protestant, although I do precisely the same at both places."

The following passage in the *Ductor Dubitantium* has been taken as a description of Chillingworth:—

"I knew a scholar once who was a man of a quick apprehension, and easy to receive an objection, who when he read the Roman doctors was very much of their opinion, and as much against them when he read their adversaries; but kept himself to the religion of his country, concerning which at all times he remembered that there were rare arguments and answers respectively, though he could not then think upon them."

Without disputing the general applicability of the description to Chillingworth, who however did not always keep to the religion of his country, I would suggest that Taylor probably had himself in mind, after the manner of St. Paul, who is acknowledged to be autobiographical in the famous passage 2 Cor. xii. 2-4.

Anyhow the extract is a fairly accurate summary of Taylor's position.

Curiously enough, Chillingworth similarly speaks of himself in the third person in describing his own changes in religion: "I know of a man that of a moderate Protestant turned a Papist. . . . The same man afterwards, upon better consideration, became a doubting Papist, and of a doubting Papist a confirmed Protestant. . . . This party I speak of . . . did after find his error and amend it."—*The Bible the Religion of Protestants.*

CHAPTER II.

Jeremy Taylor's Parentage—His Ancestor, Dr. Rowland Taylor —He is sent to the "Perse" Grammar School at Cambridge—Remarks on Grammar Schools—Taylor passes to Caius College—Cambridge Education at the Time—Predominance of the Aristotelian Philosophy over Mathematics—Mediæval Theology and Scholasticism—Opinions of Bacon and Milton thereon—Taylor's Love of Nature Counteracts the Scholastic Influence — The Greek and Roman Classics—Some Objections to his Free Use of Them —Infrequency of his Quotations from English and Contemporaneous Writers.

It will be seen from our introductory chapter that Jeremy Taylor owed various advantages to the date of his birth. Others were conferred upon him by nature of a kind which ought to have a stimulating effect on any good man who at the same time happens to be a man of genius. To say that his father was a barber implies that he was a man of humble position, depending on his business for his livelihood, a circumstance which would throw upon the son the necessity of hard work with all its disciplinary benefits on character. It is quite unnecessary to apologise for anything so utterly beyond a man's control as the rank of his ancestors. It is often quoted in his favour when he has nothing else to boast of, or when a small beginning can be contrasted with a successful end, in which case

it is usually kept as dark as possible till the end is attained. Be this as it may, a barber in the seventeenth century was generally a better educated person than he need be at the present day, the profession then including such elementary surgery as cupping and bleeding, and the extraction of teeth. This is indicated by the metal basin used in these operations, which plays such a conspicuous part in "Don Quixote," and is still suspended over barbers' shops in obscure villages and Continental cities in place of the coloured pole by which they are more usually known in England. It is stated in one of Jeremy Taylor's letters that his father was able to instruct his children in grammar and mathematics, which, if *grammar* is understood in its ancient sense, would cover all the requirements of a young person's education.

Dr. Rowland Taylor, who had suffered death for his opinions under Queen Mary, has been generally quoted as conveying the reflected glory of ancestry on young Jeremy, but the connection is rather uncertain. The Doctor was rector of Hadleigh in Suffolk, a place that has been brought into further historical distinction in our own day through the preliminary meetings, under the Rev. Hugh James Rose, which resulted in the Oxford Movement.[1]

[1] Bishop Heber remarks that there is nothing more beautiful in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* "than the account the author has given of Rowland Taylor, whether in discharge of his duty as a parish priest, or in the more arduous movements when he was called on to bear his cross in the cause of religion. His warmth of heart, his simplicity of manners, the total absence of the false stimulants of enthusiasm or pride, and the abundant overflow of better and holier

The glory reflected from the martyr's death, and the traditions concerning him in the family, would not be without influence on the character of his great successor, and possibly also in the formation of his religious opinions.

The mothers of great men have been a fruitful topic with biographers. In the case of Jeremy Taylor we are left in darkness on this point; for neither he nor any of his biographers helps to enlighten us. It is possible that our information about his parents would have been fuller had more of his familiar letters been preserved. Most of them are supposed to have been destroyed in a fire at the London Custom House; and in those which have come down to us the directly personal references are very scanty. With the exception of Bunyan's *Grace Abounding*, Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*, and the diaries of Pepys and Evelyn, the Renaissance period scarcely gives us anything worth mentioning in the way of autobiography, a species of literature which has been developed in quieter times when the absence of ex-

feelings, are delineated, no less than his courage in death, and the buoyant spirit with which he encountered it."

One of the most touching incidents in the narrative is the good old man's distribution among his parishioners of the sum sent for the alleviation of his imprisonment, which he had carefully preserved in his glove. The descent of Jeremy Taylor from the Marian Martyr does not appear to have been publicly claimed till the eighteenth century: and this delay, added to the insufficient evidence, has given rise to doubts as to its genuineness. The reticence of the family in Taylor's time may perhaps be accounted for by the disfavour, or qualified admiration, with which the Protestant sufferers were regarded by his school of churchmen, which went a long way to deprive them of the honours of confessorship.

ternal interests has allowed or induced men to dwell on their domestic matters, or private meditations, sometimes to a morbid extent, because they had nothing better to think about. On the other hand, there is scarcely any of our author's writings which is not an unconscious revelation of himself. Many of the beautiful images they contain are introduced by the expression "So have I seen," which does not strike us as a mere form of speech. Many of his spiritual and practical directions are evidently the result of personal experience in the religious life; and some of his illustrations are obviously derived from a recollection of actual events. But to say that his works are autobiographical is no more than may be said of any other great author.[1]

[1] The following beautiful passages are no doubt based on episodes he had seen or heard of in the Civil War:—

"So have I known a bold trooper fight in the confusion of a battle, and, being warm with heat and rage, received from the swords of his enemy wounds open like a grave; but he felt them not; and when, by the streams of blood, he found himself marked for pain he refused to consider then what he was to feel to-morrow; but when his rage had cooled into the temper of a man, and clammy moisture had checked the fiery emission of spirits, he wonders at his own boldness and blames his fate, and needs a mighty patience to bear his great calamity."—Sermon on *The Apples of Sodom.*

"What can we complain of the weakness of our strength, or the pressures of diseases, when we see a poor soldier stand in a breach almost starved with cold and hunger, and his cold apt to be relieved only by the heats of anger, a fever, or a fired musket, and his hunger slacked by a greater pain and a huge fear (?)—this man shall stand in his arms and wounds, *patiens luminis atque solis*, pale and faint, weary and watchful; and at night shall have a bullet pulled out of his flesh, and shivers from his bones, and endure his mouth to be sewed up from a violent rent to its own dimension; and all

Whatever the character and influence of his mother may have been, young Taylor was soon removed from her undivided care; for at the early age of three he is said to have been sent to school. If this was in the year 1616, we can think of him as going to school while Shakespeare was lying on his death-bed. In the previous year the generous Stephen Perse had left a bequest for the foundation of a free Grammar School in Cambridge, and to this school the little boy was transferred as soon as it was opened.[1]

The numerous grammar schools that sprang up all over England during the Renaissance period are one of its most characteristic and agreeable features. They arose out of the appetite for learning in general, and for classical learning in particular, generated by the movement; and the means were furnished by the funds released on the dissolution of the monasteries, supplemented by private benefactions. From the reign of Henry VIII. to that of Charles I. no fewer than 412 of these new foundation schools were established. These, it is worth noticing, were for boys only; for although it had become fashionable to teach Greek and Latin as accomplishments to young ladies in the higher ranks, nothing was done on a large scale for girls of the humbler classes till the educational and religious movements of the eighteenth century led to the so-called "Charity Schools" for both

this for a man whom he never saw, or if he did, was not noted by him, but one that shall condemn him to the gallows if he runs from all this misery."—*Holy Dying*, chap. iii., sec. 4.

[1] See note on page 34.

sexes. It is needless to say that there are essential differences between the two institutions, corresponding with the different impulses that created them. The object of the earlier schools was to provide a liberal education for boys, founded on the classic languages, which were not only pursued with the enthusiasm of a new discovery but were the only studies sufficiently systematised to form the basis of an educational scheme. But it by no means follows that other studies were excluded.[1]

[1] "Grammar School: By the way, as the grammar schools of England are amongst her most eminent distinctions, and, with submission to the innumerable wretches (gentlemen, I should say) that hate England 'worse than toad or asp,' have never been rivalled by any corresponding institutions in other lands, I may as well take this opportunity of explaining the word *grammar*, which most people misapprehend. These suppose a grammar school to mean a school where they teach grammar. But this is not the true meaning, and tends to calumniate such schools by ignoring their highest functions. Limiting by a false limitation the earliest object contemplated by such schools, they obtain a plausible pretext for representing all beyond grammar as something extraneous and casual that did not enter into the original or normal conception of the founders, and that may therefore have been due to alien suggestion. But now, when Suetonius writes a little book bearing this title, *De Illustribus Grammaticis*, what does he mean? What is it that he promises? A memoir upon the eminent grammarians of Rome? Not at all, but a memoir upon the distinguished *literati* of Rome. *Grammatica* does certainly mean sometimes grammar; but it is also the best Latin word for literature. A *Grammaticus* is what the French express by the word *litterateur*. We unfortunately have no corresponding term in English: *a man of letters* is our awkward periphrasis in the singular (too apt, as our jest books remind us, to suggest the postman); whilst in the plural we resort to the Latin word *literati*. The school which professes to teach *grammatica* professes, therefore, the culture of literature in the widest and most liberal extent, and is opposed *generically* to schools for teaching mechanic arts; and,

A more important object was to give a free education to those who were unable to pay for it, and to receive children of all ranks with the obvious advantage of levelling social distinctions under a common discipline. In this point, by the way, the grammar schools may be regarded as the peculiar outcome of a movement which in one direction was a reaction against the class distinctions of feudalism. The poor were thus qualified for association with those above them in wealth and position, and the chances of rising in life opened to them on the strength of their personal abilities. And the benefits were no less in other ways to their social superiors.

Jeremy Taylor was kept at school during the ten years which must always be the most important in a man's life. Then the seeds of character are sown, habits formed, and knowledge acquired which can less be spared than anything he learns since. And in this case all the after-life of our author and all his writings show the depth of the impression made upon him by the liberal associations of his childhood, to which we may add that his position in the *via media* of English Churchmanship is doubtless to be traced to the same source, the grammar schools being distinctly Church of England institutions.

At the age of thirteen he passed on to Caius College

within its own *sub-genus* of schools dedicated to liberal objects, is opposed to schools teaching mathematics, or, more widely, to schools for teaching science."—De Quincey, *Autobiography*.

There is also a paragraph to the same effect in his *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (vol. iii., p. 255, ed. Masson).

as a Sizar,[1] but was soon elected a scholar on the foundation of Dr. Perse, who, as Senior Fellow of Caius, had established several scholarships and fellowships at that college, with a special eye to the advancement of such youths as had distinguished themselves at his school in Cambridge.

From the fact that Taylor entered the university two years before the usual time we may safely infer that he had shot ahead of the average scholarship. But in those days a good deal was done at the university which is now supposed to be done at the public schools. The ordinary Oxford and Cambridge education, in fact, did not terminate till the M.A. degree was gained, and that by a stiff examination; and the preliminary studies, as well as the bachelor's degree which they led up to, were of less relative importance

[1] The Sizars were poor students, selected by examination, who were admitted at lower charges than the rest. They were granted free commons and an allowance in money, in return for which, however, they had to perform certain menial duties. The word is supposed to be derived from the *sizes* (or fixed quantities) of rations which these humble students had to serve out. The admission book at Gonville and Caius College gives the date of Taylor's entrance as 18th August, 1626, and describes him as "*anno ætatis suæ* 15," adding that he had been a pupil at the Perse grammar school, under Thomas Lovering, "*per decennium*". There is some uncertainty about these statements, as the Perse grammar school was not formally opened till 1619, when Thomas Lovering was appointed its first master. It has been suggested, in explanation, that Taylor's baptism (15th Aug., 1613) was deferred till a year after his birth, and that there may have been some provision for education of children under the Perse bequest before the school buildings were completed, especially as the Perse buildings at Caius, which were erected to provide for scholars from his grammar school, were themselves nearing completion two years before the latter was opened.

than at the present day, when the higher degree is conferred as a matter of course, unless forfeited by misconduct, and has no educational significance.

As regards Taylor's university career we have very little information. There is no evidence in his writings that he took much interest in mathematics. Indeed his frequent inconsistencies and looseness of reasoning show pretty clearly that he had not submitted to the discipline of that study, which was, moreover, opposed to the poetical and discursive nature of his mind. It is probable that he contented himself with what was absolutely necessary to obtain his degrees. That *some* knowledge of the science was required, even at a much earlier date, may be gathered from the Statutes of Edward VI., which enjoined the elements of Euclid, ordinary arithmetic, algebra and astronomy, as a *sine qua non* to the B.A. degree. But it was not till long after Taylor had left Cambridge that mathematical science assumed its proper rank at the university which has since come to be regarded as its special seat. Isaac Barrow was appointed to the Lucasian professorship in 1663, which he vacated six years later in favour of his distinguished pupil Isaac Newton. Both these eminent teachers did much to place their favourite subject on a worthy footing, and it is largely to their influence that Cambridge owes its pre-eminence in mathematics.

The Aristotelian logic and philosophy were then regarded as a more important study. That they were more congenial to Taylor's mind, and that he was fairly conversant therewith, may be gathered from

his writings. The rival Baconian system had not yet had time to supersede its predecessor in public opinion or the university course.

One of Taylor's biographers traces some of his literary merits to an acquaintance with Bacon's *Advancement of Learning.* That there are some very interesting resemblances in the two writers I acknowledge; but, as far as I have been able to compare them, I should say they were rather of a doctrinal and poetical than a philosophical kind.[1]

The most superficial reader of Jeremy Taylor will see that he was familiarly acquainted with the writings of the great schoolmen, Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, to say nothing of such less-known foreign theologians as Sixtus Senensis, Hugo of St. Victor, Serasius, Andreas Hyperius, Martinus Catipratensis, Arius Montanus, Sanctes Paguine, Cath-

[1] "Though there are abundant proofs in his writings of that familiarity with the Aristotelian logic which has been ascribed to him, I have not been able to discover a single allusion to those principles which Bacon first laid down, and on which alone the discovery of any new truth is possible. The powers of Taylor's mind were not devoted to the investigation of fresh fields of science, or to enlarge the compass of the human intellect by ascertaining its legitimate boundaries. He was busied through life in defending truths already received, or in clearing away errors by which those ancient truths had been disfigured. His philosophy was almost entirely casuistical. They were not falsehoods, but fallacious reasonings, against which he had to contend; and for this species of dialectic warfare his weapons were to be sought after, not in the new, but in the ancient organon, and among the elder divines and schoolmen. It is no disparagement to Bacon, nor is it inconsistent with the admiration which Taylor may well have felt for him, that he did not apply Bacon's discoveries to an use for which Bacon himself did not intend them."—*Life* by Bishop Heber.

arinus, Flacius Illyricus, Lauretus, Mariana, Gretser, Bonarscius, Petrus de Onna, Stephen Hoyeda, Claudius Aquaviva, Petrus Ribadineira, and a host of other obsolete writers, some of whom he quotes in support and illustration of his own statements, others to recommend to the perusal of the clergy, and others again only "to contradict and confute".

But whether referred to in approval or condemnation, it is clear that these writers, and many more who are now relegated to the upper shelves of great libraries, and are only consulted by needy authors who make new books out of old materials, were freely read by the omnivorous Jeremy Taylor. And their digested contents helped towards the formation of his highly-coloured style, and may possibly account for some of his characteristic defects. Of course he did not get through all this reading at Cambridge, and it is not likely that he forgot Bacon's warning that some books are to be "read only in part"; but the taste for such miscellaneous antiquities was apparently laid there in the mediæval theology and scholasticism that were still a large part of the curriculum, though beginning to suffer from the heavy artillery of the new philosophy, and the slings and arrows of its brilliant disciples.

The subjoined extracts will serve to illustrate the disfavour which scholasticism was incurring under the Baconian philosophy, and the Renaissance movement generally.[1]

[1] Thus Bacon, in commenting on 1 Timothy vi. 20, observes that St. Paul "assigns two marks of suspected and falsified science:

The reaction against the schoolmen which has succeeded in casting them into the oblivion in which they have remained till our own day was in fact just setting

the one, novelty and strangeness of terms; the other, strictness of positions, which necessarily induces oppositions, and thence questions and altercations. And, indeed, as many solid substances putrefy and turn into worms, so does sound knowledge often putrefy into a number of subtle, idle and vermicular questions that have a certain quickness of life and spirit, but no strength of matter or excellence of quality. This kind of degenerate learning chiefly reigned among the schoolmen; who, having subtle and strong capacities, abundance of leisure, and but small variety of reading, their minds being shut up in a few authors as their bodies were in the cells of their monasteries, and thus kept ignorant both of the history of nature and times; they, with infinite agitation and wit, spun out of a small quantity of matter those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books. For the human mind, if it acts upon matter, and contemplates the nature of things and the works of God, operates according to the stuff, and is limited thereby; but if it works upon itself, as the spider does, then it has no end, but produces cobwebs of learning admirable indeed for the fineness of the thread but of no substance or profit."—*Advancement of Learning*, Book I.

"Milton was admitted a pensioner at Christ's College, Cambridge, on the 12th of February, 1624. . . . A well-known passage in his first Elegy certainly betrays some displeasure which he felt, or alludes to some indignities which he suffered, from the severity of collegiate discipline. This was probably occasioned by the freedom of his censures on the established system of education and his reluctance to conform to it. In his *Reason of Church Government* he says: 'Their honest and ingenuous natures coming to the Universities to store themselves with good and solid learning, are there unfortunately fed with nothing else but the scragged and thorny lectures of monkish and miserable sophistry; were sent home again with such a scholastic bur in their throats as hath stopped and hindered all true and generous philosophy from entering; cracked their voices for ever with metaphysical gargarisms, hath made them admire a sort of formal outside men, prelatically addicted, whose unchastened and overwrought minds were never yet initiated nor subdued under the true love of moral or religious virtue, which two

in. A feeling has, however, been gaining ground in recent years that they have been unjustly treated, and a counter-reaction has taken place in their favour, under which there has been a revival of interest in their greater writers, whose true place in literature

are the best and greatest points of learning; but either slightly trained up in a kind of hypocritical and hackney course of literature to get their living by and dazzle the ignorant, or else fondly over-studied in useless controversies, except those which they use, with all the specious and delusive subtlety they are able, to defend their prelatical Sparta.' And in his *Apology for Smectymnus*, he says: 'That suburb wherein I dwell shall be, in my accounts, a more honourable place than his University, which, as in the time of her better health and mine own younger judgment, I never greatly admired, so now much less.' And in his third letter to his friend and tutor, Alexander Gill, he expresses the same opinion concerning the superficial and smattering learning of the University and of the manner in which the clergy engage with raw and untutored judgments in the study of theology, patching together a sermon with pilfered scraps without any acquaintance with criticism or philosophy. Again, in his *Animadversions on the Remonstrant's Defence*, he says: 'What should I tell you how the Universities that men look should be the fountains of learning and knowledge have been poisoned and choked under your governance?'"—*Life of Milton*, by the Rev. John Mitford.

"We possess evidence of the corruptions of Cambridge education more distinct and authoritative than the angry remembrances of Milton may be thought to supply. Beaumont, the author of *Psyche*, had been appointed to a tutorship at Peterhouse about 1640, and his biographer thus speaks of the manner in which he filled his office: 'Though he found himself tied down by the practice of the schools to the drudgery of teaching his pupils the tedious and heavy system of Duns Scotus and Averroes, and the rest of the subtle philosophers of that date, yet, by the pertinent reflections he used, and the art of disentangling their minds from the perplexities of that metaphysical jargon and leading them to the substantial knowledge of the duties of religion,' he contrived to mitigate the disgust of his hearers, and even to cultivate their minds."—Rev. R. A. Willmott, in *Bishop Jeremy Taylor, his Predecessors, Contemporaries and Successors.*

and theology we are now in a fair way to ascertain. That the study was by no means unprofitable to Taylor is acknowledged by Bishop Heber—himself no admirer of scholasticism—in his comment on the sermon addressed to the clergy, in which the author recommends many of these forgotten worthies to his hearers. And even Dr. Farrar admits, in the midst of a severe paragraph on the "narrow and effete scholasticism" pursued at Cambridge, that the "stern and patient attention which it demanded was, no doubt, useful as a system of mental gymnastics".[1]

The thoughts and pens of the schoolmen were chiefly exercised on subjects which draw everything from the mind itself independently of outward resources, *e.g.*, geometry, logic, metaphysics and dogmatic theology, the last of which they may be said to have put into the stereotyped form that it still more or less retains. Observation and experiment on external nature being necessarily excluded, their system was obviously doomed to be upset by the spread of the Baconian philosophy with its entirely different tendencies and objects. Although, as has been already suggested, we have no evidence that Taylor had any leaning towards this new philosophy, or indeed any special acquaintance with it, he had a protection against the worst effects of scholasticism in his own mental constitution, which, curiously enough, was strongly subjective and objective at the same time.[2]

[1] See the Lecture on Bishop Taylor in *Masters in English Theology.*

[2] "The scholastic system, with its singular subtleties, still held sway in the University (Cambridge); and fertile and unrestrained as Taylor's mental activity was in many directions, there is no

While one side of his intellect accounts for his veneration for the writers best suited for its gratification, the other saved him from the mischief which might have resulted had there been nothing to counterbalance their influence. The nearest approach to him that I can recall among modern English thinkers is Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who united in his own person all those subtle and metaphysical qualities that go to make a Thomas Aquinas, with an intense love of nature in all its manifestations. And consequently we have in Coleridge a fair and appreciative critic of the schoolmen, and at the same time an ardent admirer of Jeremy Taylor, especially for those exquisite poetical images which are his peculiar glory. That Taylor drew most of these from his own vivid imagination and observance of country life and scenery, is not to be denied. But he was also largely indebted to the great poets and dramatists of Greece and Rome, the study of whom was pursued at both

influence of which it bears more trace than that of the scholasticism still prevailing in his youth. He is one of several examples in his generation of a singular combination of poetic imaginativeness, exuberant in its wantonness, with an arid scholasticism, tedious in its love of trifles and distinctions. A mediæval culture overlaid his native richness of fancy and feeling, without moulding and educating it. The imaginative fruitfulness survives; but it is not well mixed—it is hardly mixed at all—with the harder intellectual grain developed by the scholastic discipline. And so, like some other writers of the seventeenth century, he seems almost to have two minds: one tender, sweet, and luxuriant to excess; the other hard, subtle, formal, prone to definition and logomachy. He is, at the same time, poet and casuist, orator and ascetic. The poetic, rhetorical elements lie alongside the dialectic in his genius, without blending, or fusing and strengthening into a thorough rational faculty."—Dr. Tulloch's *Rational Theology*.

the English universities, and indeed by educated people throughout Europe, with an enthusiastic devotion which almost amounted to worship. If, therefore, we have to point out the errors of the old university system in one direction, it is only fair to acknowledge its merits in another. The foundation of Jeremy Taylor's immense classical reading was laid at Cambridge. The study was a natural outcome of the Renaissance; and its fascination for our author is evident in every page, almost in every line, of his writings. There is scarcely a classic poet or dramatist of any distinction on whom he does not draw; and, in fact, we may say of his works (as has been said of Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary*) that they are worth reading for the quotations alone, without reference to their special object. That was of course to inculcate the sacred doctrines he believed, and to enforce the benefits and obligations of religion and morality. In thus using pagan writers to illustrate and support Christian teaching, he was acting in accordance with the spirit of his age and there could be no objection to the practice except as an impediment to the flow of his own splendid language. Objections have, however, been raised to it on other grounds by theologians of a narrower school, to whom all heathen poetry (as one of the Fathers expresses it) was *Vinum Dæmonum*.[1]

[1] The poet Cowper thus expresses himself generally:—

"How oft, when Paul has served us with a text,
Has Epictetus, Plato, Tully, preach'd!
Men that, if now alive, would sit content
And humble learners of a Saviour's worth."

—*The Task*, book ii.

While another writer goes for the poor bishop in the true style

It looks like an act of presumption to defend such a saintly writer in this matter, and I shall not attempt it beyond saying that where the eternal truths of morality and of human nature are enforced by the great writers of antiquity in common with Holy Scripture (as they frequently are) there cannot be much harm in pressing them into the service of Christianity. Secondly, preachers may remember that there are men who will listen to Plato and Epictetus who will not listen to St. Paul. As George Herbert observes: "A verse may find him who a sermon flies".

It may perhaps be asked why the poetical theologian never quotes from Shakespeare. The answer, or part of it, is that Shakespeare was then scarcely known except through the medium of the stage, a form of education which was under a ban during the Puritan supremacy, and at the restoration of Charles II. he shared the fate of the other great Elizabethan dramatists, who were superseded by the frivolous and

of an ecclesiastical pugilist: "Its forces (*i.e.*, of classical lore) were employed in a department foreign to their nature; for they were not kept as pioneers to theology, where their usefulness can never be questioned, but were introduced into the sacred ranks to fight side by side with Christian doctrines and Apostolical precepts, whose purity was thus contaminated without any authority being gained. No stronger evidence can be adduced to corroborate these assertions than the writings of Jeremy Taylor, whose finest works, and those most adapted to popular instruction, are darkened and disfigured by a vain-glorious display of classical shreds and patches, many of them drawn from those sources of impurity which the Apostle forbids to be once named among saints."—See the otherwise excellent little "Memoir" by the Rev. T. S. Hughes, prefixed to his edition of *Bishop Taylor's Sermons.*

licentious writers rendered fashionable under the reaction against the previous unnatural strictness.

It has been stated, on the authority of Dr. Johnson, that from the earliest appearance of the collected edition of Shakespeare's plays in the folio of 1623 till the year 1660 no more than a thousand copies were sold. Shakespeare, in short, was hardly known to the reading public, and had hardly attained the dignity of classic quotation. Milton was Jeremy Taylor's senior by five years, but his *Paradise Lost* was not published till 1667, the year of Taylor's death. *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* followed in 1671.

Neither does Taylor quote Spenser. But I cannot refrain from calling attention to one of his beautiful images which looks very much like an amplification of a verse in *The Faery Queene*.[1]

[1] "But so have I seen a rose newly springing from the clefts of its hood, and at first it was fair as the morning, and full with the dew of Heaven as a lamb's fleece; but when a ruder breath had forced open its virgin modesty and dismantled its too youthful and unripe retirements it began to put on darkness and to decline to softness and the symptoms of a sickly age; it bowed the head and broke its stalk, and at night, having lost some of its leaves and all its beauty, it fell into the portion of weeds and out-worn faces."—*Holy Dying*, chap. i.

> "Ah! see, whoso fair thing dost fain to see,
> In springing flower the image of thy day!
> Ah! see the virgin rose how sweetly she
> Doth first peep forth with bashful modesty,
> That fairer seems the less ye see her may.
> Lo! see soon after how more bold and free
> Her bared bosom she doth broad display.
> Lo! see soon after how she fades and falls away."
>
> —*The Faery Queene.*

Critics who question the propriety of Taylor's free use of the heathen poets are also apt to inquire why he never quotes such well-known theologians of the Reformation as Erasmus, Castellio, Melancthon, Grotius, Calvin or Martin Luther, whose orthodoxy they regard as less questionable than that of his mediæval authorities. The inference is that they formed no part of the conservative university course, and he was not attracted to them in his later reading. It is true that the Protestant side of his theology forbids the supposition that he was unacquainted with them, but he belongs to the school of Andrewes, Hooker and Laud; and, if he had any leaning at all, it was rather towards the Catholic than the Protestant view of the ecclesiastical position. But with the exception of Hooker, whom he occasionally quotes with admiration, it was not his practice to refer to any contemporaneous or (such as were then) modern authorities, even to those whose views he shared. His education and personal sympathies were generally in the direction of the older theology of mediævalism and primitive Christianity, in common with the leading High Churchmen of his day. As we should expect from the Chrysostom of the English Church, his acquaintance with the Fathers was very extensive, though he by no means exhibits a slavish deference to their opinions.

It would take us beyond our limits to dwell further here on the interesting subject of his reading. To use Dr. Johnson's expression, his was a mind qualified to "grapple with libraries"—and I have probably said enough at present on his university studies.

CHAPTER III.

Overcrowding at the Universities—Apartments shared by "Chums"—Taylor's "Chum" Risden sends him to St. Paul's as his Deputy—State of the Cathedral—Sermons of the Renaissance—They become more Important, and are *Written*—Formed on Classical Models—Increased in Length—Reason more Frequently Appealed to—Jeremy Taylor's Discourses Exhibit all these Qualities—Their High Moral and Spiritual Tone.

In the seventeenth century the colleges of both universities were often overcrowded. This was partly because there was no provision for residence in private houses, and partly because the universities then fulfilled some of the functions of public schools, and the students were consequently brought together at an earlier age and in relatively greater numbers than at present. To these reasons may be added the stimulus given to learning by the Renaissance movement, and the facilities for acquiring it provided by the grammar schools, which acted as feeders to the older foundations.[1] The result was that a set

[1] If our space permitted, it would be interesting to trace the resemblances and differences between the English and German systems of education. Suffice it to remark that in Germany the functions of the university are to a great extent discharged in the preliminary *Gymnasia*, and there is consequently much greater freedom at the former, with supposed wider scope for individual genius, than where the curriculum is more rigid. This particular

of apartments was usually shared by two or more, except in the case of wealthy students who could afford the luxury of solitude. That there was likely to be much overcrowding amongst the poorer members, who were more numerous than ever since the establishment of the preliminary schools for their special benefit, is evidenced by an express provision in the statutes of Emmanuel College that a single set of rooms should not be occupied by more than *four* at once. Students who thus lived in common were called "chums," a word supposed to be of Armoric origin, and originally meaning chamber-fellows. Taylor's associate in this way at Caius was a gentleman named Thomas Risden, who, though otherwise unknown to fame, must ever be entitled to our gratitude for bringing his friend before the public, and placing him in perhaps the best position in the world for the display of his talents. We are indebted to Risden as we are to St. Andrew for our knowledge of his more famous brother.

Mr. Risden had been engaged to lecture at St. Paul's Cathedral, but being unable to keep his engagement, he sent up Jeremy Taylor as his deputy.

This fortunate accident, or rather providential circumstance, may be regarded as the turning point in our author's career. His personal graces and eloquence at once made a favourable impression on his audience, and opened the door to his advancement

difference was more marked in the seventeenth century than it is at present. There are, of course, two sides to the question as to the advantages of the respective systems.

by bringing him under the special notice of the Archbishop of Canterbury.[1]

Whatever Laud's shortcomings, his character appears to have been perfectly free from that petty jealousy that would hinder the promotion of men more learned than himself. His aversion to what is called "nepotism" is sometimes quoted by men of position to their young relatives when seeking for patronage. Those who share Lord Macaulay's opinion that he "never wrote anything above the capacity of an old woman" will pardon me for mentioning him in the same breath with his great protégé.

It is quite possible that the recollection of his own humble origin—he was the son of a clothier—may have created some sort of sympathetic attraction to the son of the Cambridge hairdresser. Anyhow, he at once detected the abilities of the young preacher, invited him to Lambeth Palace, and speedily took steps for his promotion. No doubt the similarity of their religious opinions had also something to do with it.

In those days the occasional preachers at the Cathedral were lodged at the "Shunamite's House," which derived its name from its special purpose as a lodging for prophets, and from the circumstance that, like its Scripture prototype, it was simply furnished with those necessary articles, a chair and table, a bedstead and a candlestick.[2]

Perhaps a short digression may here be allowed on

[1] Laud was appointed to the See of Canterbury in 1633, the year of Taylor's ordination.

[2] 2 Kings iv. 10. See Walton's *Life of Hooker*.

the state of the Cathedral, as illustrating a condition of things which must be regarded as a legitimate factor in the Puritan disaffection, and one of the many causes of the struggle which ended in the temporary supremacy of that party and the practical extinction of the Church in which such abuses could be permitted.

Of course it was in the old Gothic Cathedral that Jeremy Taylor preached, destroyed in the great fire of London, and replaced by the present classical building (a conspicuous outward sign of the Renaissance in the architectural direction) in the reign of Charles II. It will be remembered that till within recent years the choir and nave were so far shut off from each other by wooden screens and ironwork as to be practically separate buildings, as was the case at many other English cathedrals. But it was by no means a post-Reformation or Protestant arrangement.

The special sanctity which now attaches to every part of a church does not seem to have been realised during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, nor is it yet realised on the Continent to the same extent as in England, where religious feeling has been more successful in separating the sacred from the profane, perhaps not altogether to the advantage of either. Cathedrals and parish churches were frequently used for secular purposes, and the immemorial "right-of-way" through some of them was jealously guarded for traffic of all kinds.[1] In view, therefore, of the frequent

[1] The Latin inscription under the west window at St. Albans may be referred to, which, being interpreted, says that "On account of

services, it became necessary to separate the choir and chancel from the noise and possible profanation to which they might otherwise have been exposed, and the ancient arrangement was perpetuated in the new Cathedral, although the original reason for it had largely disappeared at the time of its erection. In no place in the world was this division more necessary than in Old St. Paul's, the nave of which, popularly called "Paul's Walk," served the purpose of an Exchange and Mart, as well as a convenient rendezvous for traders and loungers of all kinds. The booksellers, whose special seat is now in the streets round the Cathedral, *e.g.*, Paternoster Row and Ave Maria Lane (though they are gradually spreading westwards), did not then confine themselves to the outside, but by long habit had established a right to stalls within the nave of the building. Less intellectual trades were carried on by dealers in fish, fruit, vegetables and tobacco; and when to those who came to market we add the crowd of idlers and pleasure-seekers who came together for gossip and amusement, we shall have a lively and interesting scene, then of daily occurrence but quite at variance with our modern notions as to the reverence due to a place of worship. A vivid picture of it is given by that friend of our youth, Harrison Ainsworth, in his *Old St. Paul's*, to which

the favourable position and immense size of this church, so well adapted for accommodating great multitudes, in the reign of Henry VIII., and again in the reign of Elizabeth, while the plague was raging in London, the Courts of Justice were held here". The "right-of-way," till recently existing through the same church, has been reasserted by Lord Grimthorpe in his own special manner.

readers may refer who like history under the pleasant guise of a story.[1]

It is fair to remember that there is a good as well as a bad aspect to this association of things sacred and profane. It arose during the Middle Ages, when all life was bound up with that of the Church which was supposed to cast a halo of sanctity on all transactions on consecrated ground; and we have further to recollect that the great churches of England and the Continent were formerly the most convenient (frequently the only) buildings suited for gatherings on a large scale. Of course the principle which regarded everything as religious has been frightfully abused; but it was on this principle, excellent in itself, that the line of demarcation was left undrawn between sacred and secular, as we distinguish them; and the sense of incongruity which now strikes us so keenly in their juxtaposition was then scarcely felt. The distinction, equally liable to abuse when pushed to extremes, and always more or less arbitrary, is an undoubted fruit of the Renaissance and Reformation, and in Jeremy Taylor's time was gradually working itself out in public opinion. The Puritan dominion was probably the most potent, as it was the final, influence in England in divorcing religion from common life.[2]

While the nave of the Cathedral was thus in a

[1] The outside of every door was more or less like the Pool of Bethesda from the collection of mendicants and cripples there assembled, and even *within* the doors there was an injunction against the commission of nuisances, which was too frequently repeated to have been unnecessary.

[2] See postscript to this chapter.

manner secularised, the services and sermons went on in the choir. Whenever any great preacher occupied the pulpit he might reckon on a good audience, for in the period under consideration the sermon, besides its principal objects of exhortation and religious instruction, answered various other purposes which have been fulfilled by the newspapers and reviews of modern times. The sermon, in other words, was an instrument for literary criticism and the announcement of news now communicated by printed advertisement. It was also used for the discussion of political questions now regarded as out of place in church as suggesting considerations, and stirring up antipathies, which had better be left in abeyance. In the earlier stages of the Reformation such important topics as the Presence in the Eucharist and the authority of the Bible and the Church were naturally discussed. These had given way, with the altered controversies of the times, to the rival authority of the King and the Pope; and somewhat later, when the King and the people were in collision, the "Divine right of Kings" was a favourite topic—all subjects which could nowhere better be discussed without interruption than in the pulpit.[1] So

[1] Milton's vision of the employment of the lost angels is, no doubt, derived from his own experience:—

> "Others apart sat on a hill retir'd,
> In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high
> Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
> Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute;
> And found no end, in wand'ring mazes lost.
> Of good and evil much they argued then,
> Of happiness and final misery,
> Passion and apathy, and glory and shame,

engrossing at length did these secular matters become, both to preacher and people, that they often superseded the sacred doctrines of the Nativity, Resurrection and Atonement. The baneful consequences of this sort of political preaching made themselves felt in the heated condition of the audience, and the destruction of that calm, dispassionate mind required for the fair consideration of any subject. It was by no means uncommon to drown the preacher's voice with discordant noises, to "cough him down," as Latimer expresses it, or hum approval as he played upon the sensitive chords of his hearers' sympathies. In one of his sermons Dr. Donne refers to those frequent "periodical murmurings and noises which are made when the preacher concludeth any point; which impertinent interjections swallow up one-quarter of his hour".

In stimulating the thirst for knowledge the Renaissance movement had helped to give greater importance to the sermon as an educational medium, to increase its length, and to introduce into it topics of more varied and exciting interest than the old story of the Gospel could afford to people ever on the look out for some new thing. It had its prototype in the Athens of St. Paul's day, when, notwithstanding the Apostle's comment, the Christian doctrine probably owed some of its propagation to its daring originality and response to popular sympathies, independently of its

> Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy:
> Yet with a pleasing sorcery could charm
> Pain for a while or anguish, and excite
> Fallacious hope, or arm th' obdured breast
> With stubborn patience."—*Paradise Lost*, Book II.

intrinsic merits. In short, the sermon, from the occasional and subordinate place it had occupied in pre-Reformation days, had been put almost on a level with the Sacraments in importance and made the vehicle for circulating information and opinions quite at variance with its original and proper object.[1]

An attempt to restrict the undue liberty and influence of the pulpit was made by a proclamation of Edward VI., issued in April, 1548, which interdicted all preaching except by special licence of the King, the Protector or the Primate. Its effect, however, has been described as "stripping the pastoral office of much of its remaining dignity".[2] And the homilies of Queen Elizabeth, prepared for those who could not, or were not allowed to preach independently, can scarcely be said to have raised the tone of pulpit oratory, destroying as they did the power of original composition where they were used, and abounding, as some of them do, in coarse and violent language which it would have been hard for the hottest sectarian to excel.[3]

Of course there were great preachers in England before Jeremy Taylor, but it is to him more than to any

[1] It may incidentally be remarked that in the reaction consequent on the Oxford Movement in its later stages, a movement which owed some of its success to its inimitable sermons, the clergy have gone to the other extreme, involving a degradation and neglect of preaching, from which we are now recovering as time brings about its revenges.

[2] See the Rev. R. A. Willmott's interesting little work before referred to.

[3] See the amusing extracts from the homilies on the *Peril of Idolatry*, and on *Good Works*, quoted in Tract XC.

other single man that we owe the restoration of the sermon to its right position. In looking at his faults it is fair to remember that in some respects he had no predecessor—in his peculiar excellencies he is not likely to have an equal. It will be convenient to defer the consideration of his discourses till a later chapter. Suffice it to say here that, although the announcement that he was going to preach was sufficient to ensure a crowded church, he owed his reputation to quite other qualities than those referred to as appealing to the passions of the multitude. His sermons exhibit a remarkable absence of those political allusions which disfigure so many others of his date.[1]

Here and there, it is true, they occur, but it is rather as a "foil to set off" the high qualities which are peculiar to himself, and distinguish him from every other preacher of ancient or modern times.

The form of the sermon underwent an important

[1] The following extract from a sermon by Dr. Robert South (1633-1716) will be to the point: "Who that had looked upon Agathocles first handling the clay and making pots under his father, and afterwards turning robber, would have thought that from such a condition he should come to be King of Sicily? Who that had seen Mansaniello, a poor fisherman, with his red cap and his angle, could have reckoned it possible to see such a pitiful thing, within a week after, shining in his cloth of gold, and with a word or a nod absolutely commanding the whole city of Naples? And who that had beheld such a bankrupt, beggarly fellow as Cromwell first entering the Parliament-house with a thread-bare, torn cloak and a greasy hat (and perhaps neither of them paid for), could have suspected that in the space of so few years he should, by the murder of one king and the banishment of another, ascend the throne, be invested in the royal robes, and want nothing of the state of a king but the changing of his hat into a crown?"—Sermon on Prov. xvi. 33.

change at this period. The extemporaneous oratory of Savonarola and St. Bernard was gradually superseded by those elaborate written compositions which were brought to perfection by such masters as Bossuet and Massillon in France, and Jeremy Taylor in England. This was almost a necessity of the classical revival. The Renaissance was a time of general education and criticism, when the crude discourses of an earlier period, which owed much of their effect to their spontaneity, no longer satisfied the intellectual audiences who applied to sermons the same sort of criticism that they were applying to Virgil and Horace. To meet the wants of the times the sermon was formed on classical models, abundance of classical matter was interwoven into it, or scattered about it for ornamentation. It became, in short, a highly finished and scholarly essay. The style of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* had long been a delightful puzzle to his contemporaries, and has since been traced to the influence of Cicero, whom Hooker resembles in the melodious and stately flow of his sentences, long drawn out and lingering on the ear like the sound of church bells. That great writer reached an ideal which all ecclesiastical writers had in view, and by aiming at perfection most of them attained at least a respectable mediocrity. When Dante took Virgil as his guide and model, he was setting a fashion to be followed by every great theologian and preacher of the Renaissance. Each may have had his special favourite among the poets and moralists of antiquity, whose style he imitated with a difference and whom

he quoted most freely. In Taylor we have a generous eclecticism, which manifested itself in an exuberant diction such as we might expect from the combination of many models, and in free quotation from all. While this accounts for some of his characteristic beauties, it may also account for the ambiguity and indefiniteness which deprive him of weight as a theologian. He would not have been such a great poet if he had been a great logician or mathematician. He has his antipodes in Bishop Pearson, while agreeing with him on almost all points of doctrine. Another feature in the sermons of this period is their great length. It appears from Dr. Donne, just quoted, that an hour was the usual time occupied, as is suggested by the hour-glass attached to the Jacobean and Caroline pulpits. A preacher who left off before the sand had run out was looked upon as a defaulter. The glass was occasionally turned for the completion of longer discourses without incurring any special resentment from the congregation. But the reader who wishes to test the length of a sermon has only to read it aloud, with such deliberation and pauses as might be supposed in its delivery, and he will find that most of Taylor's will take about an hour to get through comfortably.[1]

[1] We cannot help comparing and contrasting old times with new in this matter. Canon Liddon's sermons at St. Paul's usually occupied an hour, which his hearers felt none too long. Sometimes he ran into the "second glass before parting". I remember Dean Stanley on one occasion at the Abbey, when the orthodox half-hour had expired, breaking off suddenly with the remark that "the rest would be reserved for another occasion," an example which one is tempted to wish more frequently followed.

Another point to be noticed in the sermons of the Renaissance is the increasing frequency of appeals to the common sense and reasoning powers of the audience, and a corresponding decline of that purely devotional tone which had characterised the religious books and sermons of the Middle Ages. The great preachers sometimes regarded as precursors to the Reformation, owe much of their distinction to the degree in which they anticipated their successors in pulpit oratory. Such great revivalists as St. Bernard and Savonarola, for instance, were constantly urging on their hearers the practical and homely duties of daily life, and appealing to the motives and using the arguments to enforce them which have always been most effective. So far the preaching of the two sets of men has a certain resemblance. But the great subsidiary movements of the Middle Ages involved nothing really antagonistic to the orthodoxy of the time. They were rather revivals of practical religion within the Church than rebellions against its authority; they provoked no discussion of ecclesiastical doctrine, discipline, or ceremonial, much less of the authorship and inspiration of the sacred books of Scripture. Consequently the mediæval revivalists, even in their most passionate and reforming moods, do not go away from the submissive and devotional spirit of their day. When we come to Erasmus, however, we notice a change, a disposition to refer ecclesiastical doctrines and practices to the judgment of reason, and a corresponding inclination to discard them when they appeared extravagant or unreasonable when so tested.

This tendency is, of course, carried still further in Martin Luther and his disciples, with the double effect of checking superstition and fanaticism on one hand, and, on the other, of raising a superstitious hatred of superstition, of creating another and more dangerous sort of fanaticism and sacrificing some of the essential spirit to which superstition is apt to cling so closely that it is almost impossible to destroy one without the other. The Reformation divines, whatever their differences in detail, all agreed in substituting what is called a practical common-sense view of religion for the high ideal implied in the word *saintliness*. The secret colloquies of the soul with its Creator, as related by St. Thomas à Kempis, the self-forgetfulness and bodily mortification of St. Francis Xavier, St. Francis of Assisi, or St. Catharine of Siena, got to be looked upon as morbid and unpractical; and instead of asceticism and isolation from the world, such duties as honesty, purity, truthfulness and moral courage were inculcated—the rest being condemned in the current phraseology as "works of supererogation". As far as the Church of England is concerned, this tendency seems to have reached its climax in the Georgian era, when a noted preacher could find no higher epithet for St. Paul than that he was a "perfect gentleman". I hope I shall not be held to disparage the excellent qualities referred to, which we have got to pride ourselves upon as a peculiarly English monopoly; but it is obviously possible to make too much of them in the religious life, and indeed that they may exist quite independently of any religious

principle. And when this sort of teaching goes on to inculcate success, reputation, wealth, etc., as motives for morality, as it has been in certain books on the art of rising in life for young readers, it will do no harm to remind ourselves of the higher motives which actuated the saintly men and women of the "dark" ages.

The Church of England, as a whole, in its authorised formularies, and as represented by its leading teachers, steered a middle course between the extravagances of mediævalism and ultra-Protestantism, and aimed at combining the practical with the devotional spirit.

Taking Jeremy Taylor as her exponent for our present purpose, we shall find him a wholesome corrective against excesses on either side. His sermons and other writings are full of sound, practical, common sense, and the importance of such homely duties as I have mentioned, with an appreciation of nature and the fulness of life as keen as that of the best pagan moralists and their revivalists of the Renaissance and modern times. But underlying all this there is a pervading sense of God's presence, and a very high view of human responsibility and the sacredness of life. He addresses himself to men and women of the world, and supports his appeals to them by argument and illustration such as the most modern utilitarian could desire; but he never loses sight of the principle which gives life a religious value, of the intercourse with God by which alone it can be sustained, or of the saintly character which should be its issue. His works are a very useful guide to worldly success; but

he can never be accused as holding it out as a motive for conduct. His own life is the best illustration of his doctrine.

We owe two things to the Renaissance movement which are worth remembering in the history of preaching: first, the place which the sermon holds by established right as a regular part of the church service; and, secondly, the *written* as distinguished from the extemporaneous discourse. On the former point it may be remarked that in the old statutes of St. Paul's the duties of the Cathedral clergy are set forth with great minuteness but not a word is said on the duty of giving instruction from the pulpit. Erasmus speaks of it as a novelty when Dean Colet (1467-1519) began preaching at every festival when it was no part of the office of the dean, or any of the canons, as such, to preach at all.

As regards written *versus* extempore sermons, there is no doubt a great deal to be said on both sides, where so much depends upon the gifts of the preacher and the particular audience. But one thing is certain, and that is that it would be a grievous loss to the English Church and to English literature, if the sermons of such preachers as Barrow, South and Taylor had not been preserved to us, to say nothing of more modern discourses. In subordination to the great movement that inspired him, we owe much in both respects to the great subject of these simple chapters.

P.S.—The subjoined extracts will help to substantiate what has been said above, as to the desecration of Old St. Paul's, and will

show that the mischief was one of old standing, and that attempts to check it had been made from time to time.

"Paul's Walk is the land's epitome, or you may call it the lesser isle of Great Britain. It is more than this—the whole world's map, which you may discern in its perfectest motion, jostling and turning. It is a heap of stones and men, with a vast confusion of languages; and were the steeple not sanctified, nothing liker Babel. The noise in it is like that of bees, a strange humming, or buzzing, mixed of walking, tongues, and feet: it is a kind of still roar, or loud whisper. It is the great exchange of all discourse, and no business whatsoever, but is here stirring and afoot. It is the synod of all pates politic, jointed and laid together in most serious posture, and they are not half so busy at the Parliament. It is the market of young lecturers, whom you may cheapen here at all rates and sizes. It is the general mint of all famous lies, which are here, like the legends of Popery, first coined and stamped in the Church. All inventions are emptied here, and not a few pockets. The best sign of the Temple in it is that it is the thieves' sanctuary, which rob more safely in a crowd than a wilderness, while every pillar is a bush to hide them. It is the other expense of the day, after plays, taverns and a bawdy-house; and men have still some oaths left to swear here. The visitants are all men without exceptions; but the principal inhabitants are stale knights and captains out of service, men of long rapiers and short purses, who after all turn merchants here, and traffic for news. Some make it a preface to their dinner, and travel for an appetite; but thirstier men make it their ordinary, and board here very cheap. Of all such places it is the least haunted by hobgoblins, for if a ghost would walk here, he could not."—Bishop Earle's *Microcosmographie* (1628).

"That no manere man ne child, of what estate or condicioun that he be, be so hardy to wrestell, or make any wrestlyng, within the Seintuary ne the boundes of Poules, ne in non other open place within the Citee of London, up(on) peyne of emprisonement of fourty dayes, and makyng fyn unto the chaumbre, after the discrecioun of the Mair and Aldermen."—*Proclamation against Wrestling within the Sanctuary of St. Paul's issued in August*, 1411.

"Covenant between the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Darcy and Sir George Darcy for a marriage between Thomas Darcy and Lady Anne, . . . and if the said Thomas die, between William, Sir George's second son, and the same Lady . . . For which marriage the Earl of Shrewsbury is to pay . . . £200. On the day of

St. Nicholas next at the Font in St. Paul's Cathedral, London."—*From a Covenant of* 1530—*reign of Henry VIII.*

The Cathedral Font was a favourite place for contracting and settling debts and obligations, probably because of the supposed inviolability of transactions undertaken at such a sacred spot.

The following proclamation of Philip and Mary (August, 1554) throws an interesting light on the uses to which the Cathedral was then put. I have modernised the spelling.

"*By the Mayor.*

"Item. Forasmuch as the material temples or Churches of God were first ordained and instituted and made in all places for the lawful and devout assembly of the people there to lift up their hearts, and to laud and praise Almighty God, and to hear His Divine Service, and most holy Word and Gospel sincerely said, sung, and taught, and not to be used as market-places or other profane places or common thoroughfares with carriage of things, and that now of late years many of the Inhabitants of this City of London, and other people repairing to the same, have and yet do commonly use and accustom themselves very unseemly and unreverently. The more is the pity to make the common carriage of great vessels full of ale and beer, great baskets full of bread, fish, fruit, and such other things, *farthells* of stuff and other gross wares and things through the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, within the said City of London, and some in leading of mules, horses, or other beasts, through the same unreverently, to the great dishonour and displeasure of Almighty God, and the great grief also and offence of all good and well-disposed persons. Be it therefore for remedy and reformation thereof ordained, enacted, and established by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons in this present Common Council assembled, and by the authority of the same, according to the privileges and customs of this ancient City, that no manner of person or persons, either free of the said City, or foreign, of what estate, condition, or degree soever he or they be, do at any time from henceforth carry or convey, or cause to be conveyed or carried, through the said Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, or any manner of great vessel, or vessels, basket or baskets, with bread, ale, beer, flesh, fruit, fish, *farthells* of stuff, wood billets, faggots, mule, horse, or other beasts, or any other like thing or things upon pain of forfeiture and losing for every such his or their first offence, three shillings and fourpence, and for the second like offence six shillings and eightpence, and for the third offence ten shillings, and for every other offence after such third time to forfeit

and lose a like sum, and to suffer imprisonment by the space of two whole days and two nights without bail or mainprise. The one moiety of all which pains and penalties shall be to the use of the poor called Christ's Hospital within Newgate for the time being; and the other moiety thereof shall be to the use of him or them that will sue for the same in any Court of Record which same City by bill, original plaint, or information to be commenced and sued in the name of the Chamberlains of the said City for the time being wherein none essoynge, or wager of law, for the defendants shall be admitted or allowed. God save the King and Queen."—*Guildhall Records.*

CHAPTER IV.

Taylor leaves Cambridge for Oxford—Fellowship at All Souls' College—Friendship with Francis-a-Sancta-Clara—Accused of Romanism—Sermon on the Gunpowder Treason—Rector of Uppingham—His Two Marriages—Love a Strong Principle in his Character—Contrast with Milton—Sermon on "The Marriage Ring".

Archbishop Laud soon showed his good intentions towards his protégé by sending him to Oxford with a strong recommendation to the Warden and Fellows of All Souls', in view of securing him a Fellowship; and Taylor accordingly transferred himself to that University. There are some puzzling elements in the translation, as it meant relinquishing the Perse Fellowship at Caius for another scarcely more lucrative, and as Laud was merely Visitor to All Souls', it would have been ungraceful for him to influence an election without a strain of privilege which his adversaries would be sure to lay hold of. There was a further trifling difficulty in the probation required to qualify for the new Fellowship. On the other hand, as the Perse Fellowship at Cambridge was not on the foundation, and the emoluments were slender, there may have been an immediate advantage in the change, as well as a prospective advantage, under the Archbishop's ægis, which Taylor was too grateful to forego. The event shows that the election was postponed on the very question of privilege between his Grace and the Warden

till it could be postponed no longer, and the decision fell to the Archbishop, as Visitor, as a matter of right. It is quite possible that there was a political motive in thus leaving him the onus of the appointment. As Taylor was made probationary Fellow in November, 1635, and was not raised to complete Fellowship till the following January, there was time enough for him to satisfy the formal requirements, which can have presented no serious obstacle as far as he was personally concerned as he then held the M.A. degree from both Universities.

We can easily understand the attraction of an Archbishop's patronage to a man of poverty and genius in days when private patronage answered certain purposes now otherwise provided for. The dedications of books published at this period are a very amusing illustration of its potency.[1]

[1] In dedicating the *Advancement of Learning* to King James the First, Bacon says :—

"Nor indeed would it be easy to find any monarch since the Christian era who could bear any comparison with your Majesty in the variety and depth of your erudition. Let any one review the whole line of kings and he will agree with me. It indeed seems a great thing in a monarch if he can find time to digest a compendium, or imbibe the simple elements of science, or love and countenance learning; but that a king, and he a king born, should have drunk at the true fountain of knowledge, yea, rather, should have a fountain of learning in himself, is indeed little short of a miracle. And the more since in your Majesty's heart are united all the treasures of sacred and profane knowledge, that, like Hermes, your Majesty is invested with a triple glory, being distinguished no less by the power of a king than by the illumination of a priest and the learning of a philosopher."

Elsewhere the learned author justifies flattery on the ground that it is intended to represent to people of high estate rather what they ought to be than what they are.

This motive, if it existed at all in Taylor's case, would be supplemented by the natural desire for change of scene, by some dissatisfaction with the Cambridge routine and by the picturesque colouring which his vivid imagination would lend to the other University. Even then the two great seats of learning exhibited some of the characteristic differences that now distinguish them ; and the associations of Oxford, in its past history and present circumstances, to say nothing of its theology and politics, would all attract a man of Taylor's temperament. Anyhow, he speedily decided on his future course. The books of Caius College show that he went there on the 13th October, 1635, to make his final arrangements, and that he left the very next day ; and it appears from the Oxford records that he was admitted to the rank of M.A. in that university within a week of his arrival.

He enjoyed his Fellowship for four years, with its advantages of leisure, books and learned society ; and we are told that his charming manners and " excellent casuistical " preaching endeared him to many in the University, including the Warden of All Souls' (Sheldon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), with whom there had at first been a little coldness through the undue influence, as he regarded it, that had been brought to bear on the election. The college books, however, show that the new Fellow's residence was very irregular, possibly owing to the frequent calls for his eloquence elsewhere, or the requirements of the Archbishop, who soon made him his chaplain.

It was in these Oxford days that the first serious

charge of Romanism was brought against him, partly based on the supposed leanings of his patron, partly on a friendship which he had formed with a learned Franciscan, known as Francis-a-Sancta-Clara,[1] and partly also on the ascetic side of his own character and fearless expression of opinion where Catholic truth, as he conceived it, was concerned. Of course he rebutted the accusation, but it must be admitted that, from the Calvinistic and Presbyterian point of view, there was much in his cast of mind—his fondness for casuistry, his profound reverence for antiquity, his natural love of the picturesque and poetical features of religion, its ascetic severity on one hand, its august ceremonial on the other, which he was too honest to conceal in his words and works—that would lay him open to the charge. His intellect was too capacious for the narrow Protestantism of the Puritan school. His omnivorous reading would make him a Catholic in the widest sense of the word, and to his opponents, in the heated feeling of the time, scarcely distinguishable from a Papist.[2] A similar opinion gained ground among

[1] The family name was Davenport. There were two brothers, John and Christopher, whose religious opinions present the same remarkable contrast as those of the brothers Newman in our own times. Laud was also acquainted with Taylor's friend (Christopher), and the intimacy between them was made one of the articles in the prelate's indictment.

[2] Jeremy Taylor's position reminds us of the epitaph to Andrew Loup (d. 1643) at Bere-Regis, a translated extract from which we are tempted to quote :—

"Mark the fickleness of popular favour—of the multitude—ever more alert to blame than praise. Foremost among the champions of orthodox belief, he yet, but without any show of heresy or schism, held firmly by those doctrines and ceremonies of the Christian

the Romanists themselves—probably strengthened, if not suggested, by the desire for so eminent a convert; and Sancta-Clara went so far as to assert that Taylor had formed a deliberate resolution of joining the Roman Church, a step from which he was deterred, not so much by any reluctance on his own part as by the indignation of the Romanists themselves at some expressions of his in a sermon for the 5th of November (1638), in which he animadverted severely on their political tendencies and the sanction given to crime by certain of their casuists.

Although somewhat out of chronological order, this will perhaps be the best place to consider that celebrated sermon on the *Gunpowder Treason*. It was preached before the University, by appointment of the Archbishop, from the pulpit of St. Mary's. It is the earliest of Taylor's sermons that has been preserved to us, and although open to the objection of youthful indiscretion, in many respects it was worthy of the occasion and the place.

The Bampton Lectures were not instituted till 1751,[1] but the parish church of Oxford had long been renowned for the university and other special sermons; and the associations that had gathered round it since its erection were full of suggestion to the preacher and congregation. Built at various dates between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, the sacred edifice seemed to gather up and "sanctify in stone" the history of

faith which he deemed to be fundamental and alike conducive to the glory of God and the peaceable ordering of the Church. On this ground he was charged with having become a Papist."

[1] The first course was not delivered till 1780.

the Church of England. There was an air of mediævalism about the old church, tempered by the prestige of Cranmer and other great reformers; and as if to connect the past with the present, and at the same time to impress upon it a permanent record of the spirit of the age, an addition had been made to it during the preceding year, in the Renaissance porch set up by Dr. Owen, Chaplain to Archbishop Laud. The main building is in the early decorated Gothic; the porch is in the style made fashionable by the classical revival, which nevertheless lent itself very readily to incorporation with the earlier work, and there was no objection to it on the ground of architectural incongruity.[1] But within a niche above the doorway there was a sermon in stone which was a perpetual irritation to the Puritan mind, and its erection was made one of the chief articles in Laud's indictment:—

> The Virgin mother of the God-born child,
> With her son in her blessed arms look'd round.—*Don Juan.*

Such a piece of work was indeed a bold stroke in face of the Protestant iconoclasm. Scarcely anything said or done at Oxford during the religious movements of our own times could be more provocative.

Jeremy Taylor spoke to a crowded audience. The reputation of the preacher, the special occasion, with its opening to controversy, or, haply, the preacher's skill in avoiding it, would be sure to draw together the best intellect of Oxford, of all ways of thinking, besides many people who went to church on Guy Fawkes' day only, like their posterity at a Harvest

[1] Inigo Jones's portico to old St. Paul's Cathedral is another well-known instance of the classical tendency.

Festival. We must remember that the special service for the 5th of November had not lost the flavour of originality. To many minds there was still a danger of a recurrence to those foreign principles in politics and religion which had been the unfortunate cause of its institution. That a riot was anticipated and guarded against seems probable from the fact that the sermon was previously submitted to the censorship of the Vice-Chancellor. Sancta-Clara goes so far as to say that Taylor had frequently expressed his regret at the force of his expressions against the Romanists, which were rather due to the censor's emendations than to his own invention. The text was St. Luke ix. 50: "But when James and John saw this they said, Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come from heaven, and consume them, even as Elias did?" The theory of interpolation in the sermon is scarcely tenable, for it is a connected and sustained argument from first to last against political Romanism, many instances of which the preacher quotes as involving the same principles, and likely to lead to the same acts, as those condemned in the commemoration. He instances "the bloody doctrine of Sanders, our countryman," also that of "Emmanuel Sá, who, in his *Aphorisms*, affirms it to be lawful to kill a king if the pope hath sentenced him to death". Mariana is quoted, not only as sanctioning the doctrine, but as suggesting the best methods of putting it into practice. Poison he thinks admirable, if "secretly cast on chairs, saddles and garments of the obnoxious prince, after the laudable example of the Moors of

Spain". And the success of such methods is illustrated by the case of old Henry of Castile, who was "cured of his sickness" by poisoned boots. And this writer is said to go beyond Sá, in sanctioning not only the death of tyrants, but such as are "so regarded by learned men, though but a few". Another instance is given in the Bull of Excommunication put forth by Pius V. against Queen Elizabeth, as a naked encouragement to rebellion and treason. Sixtus V. is also quoted, as approving the assassination of Henry III., a deed which he considers equally meritorious with the exploits of Judith and Eleazar.

Such instances as these are supported by a string of Spanish, French and Italian casuists, whose text-books encouraged the opinion that it was lawful to depose heretical princes, and even to put them to death in case of necessity or even of great public convenience. The moral of the sermon lies, of course, in the application of the Gospel principles which answer the question in the text and the Roman casuists at once. He then discusses the question involved in the "Seal of Confession" which he does not regard as inviolable in the case of treason, on which point he argues that, whatever the opinion of isolated casuists may be, the Churches of England and Rome are really at one, and that this is no modern opinion he proves from Sozomen and Origen who held it lawful to publish such dangerous confessions. He concludes with some instances of cruel persecution from sacred and profane history and an exhortation to thankfulness for the national escape.

The sermon was afterwards published with a dedication to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which, however, there is nothing to qualify what is said in the text, though something to strengthen it—and we are therefore led to the conclusion that it represented the preacher's deliberate opinions at the time.[1] There would be nothing inconsistent in an expression of regret at a later period of his life, when the sermon had passed into permanent literature, and when the author would naturally wish it relieved of any errors in reasoning or overstatement likely to injure its value or to provoke ill-feeling in its readers. Its immediate effect on the Romanists was to induce them to abandon the hopes they had formed of securing Jeremy Taylor as a convert.

Coleridge tells us that there was in his day a MS. volume of Jeremy Taylor's sermons which had never been published. Where this volume is *now*, we have no means of ascertaining. In the absence of this precious treasure we must suppose that the sermon just discussed is the earliest that has been preserved —and one naturally regards it with the interest attaching to every first serious effort. Even if its authorship had been unknown, there would have been little difficulty in fixing it, so closely does the style and treatment agree with Taylor's later writings. One misses in it the wealth of imagery and classical quotation characteristic of his maturer discourses, yet

[1] The state services were removed in 1859 from the Prayer-book, of which they never formed an integral part. Dr. Sacheverell's sermon of 5th November, 1709, shows the bad feeling which that anniversary kept alive much too long after its institution.

these are not altogether wanting; and the accumulated instances from Scripture and foreign theologians in the development of his subject are quite in his later style. Of course he had already had some practice and experience in preaching, and had gone some way towards making a reputation. The importance of the occasion would put him upon his mettle—and we may safely infer that we have in this discourse the best work he was then able to produce, the result of previous efforts which as of less importance, or less merit, have been allowed to perish.

In its severity on the Jesuit casuists the sermon reminds us of Pascal's *Provincial Letters*. The great French writer was only fifteen years old when it was delivered, and it is unlikely that he was ever acquainted with Taylor's works. The two writers have something in common in their freedom of opinion and expression and the asceticism of their theology, elements which are not so irreconcilable as they at first sight appear. While they both exhibit the influence of the Renaissance in a certain exemption from the restraints of orthodoxy in its popular form, neither of them exceeds the bounds of the ecclesiastical system to which he was devoted, and only attacks what he regards as detrimental to it or the truth which it is supposed to maintain. But here the resemblance ends. Taylor's asceticism was of the mild form quite compatible with good health and enjoyment of life when he could get it, and his literary style is remarkably deficient in that exquisite sarcastic humour, as well as that mathematical accuracy

of reasoning which makes Pascal irresistible; and our own writer is seldom or never cynical.

I have already noticed the "dedications" of the period, which are apt to provoke a smile or jar on one's nerves in the excessive humility of their writers and the abundant flattery of their patrons. In the present "Epistle Dedicatory" we can hardly take our author seriously in the self-disparagement which leads him to say that he had "scarce learned to speak," that "God could draw praise from the mouths of infants," and to apologise for his boldness in "daring to venture under his Grace's favour," etc. We are told that he had been admired at Oxford for his "excellent casuistical preaching". This earliest known example of it throws an interesting light on the expression. It shows our author's wide acquaintance with the literature of casuistry and his fondness for the discussion of cases of conscience, such as were afterwards elaborated in his *Ductor Dubitantium;* to which we may add that it exhibits in embryo the characteristic strength and weakness of that great work, and indeed of all Taylor's controversial writings.

We must now go back to the preceding year (1637), in the spring of which Laud used his influence with Juxon, Bishop of London, to secure for Taylor the Rectory of Uppingham, in the county of Rutland.

Uppingham had originally belonged to the Abbey of Westminster, but had been granted to Bishop Ridley and his successors in the See of London in the reign of Edward VI. When Evelyn travelled through it in 1654 he found it a pretty little place, well built of

stone, which he speaks of as "a rarity in that part of England, where most of the rural parishes are but of mud". The easy duties of a parish priest in a small country town would quite fall in with Taylor's disposition and allow him sufficient leisure for his favourite reading and writing. The increase in his income would also be a consideration. Whether it was owing to the superior claims of Uppingham or to some growing dissatisfaction with Oxford, as has been suggested, is of no great importance, but it is certain that from the date of his first residence there his visits to the University became more and more infrequent till they finally ceased. Taylor was a lover of nature in all its forms, and it is quite possible that Uppingham owed some of its fascination to a lady named Phoebe Langsdale,[1] to whom the young rector was married in his own church within two years of his appointment, *viz.*, on the 27th May, 1639, while in his twenty-sixth year. By this lady he had three sons, one of whom, as well as the beloved wife herself, died in the year 1642, a melancholy *Annus Mirabilis* in the history of the Church of England and the country. Though deeply affectionate—perhaps for that very reason—Taylor's nature was not of a kind to keep him long in the isolation of widowhood, and he soon found consolation in a second marriage. The date is uncertain, but it probably took place in 1643. The lady of his choice this time was Joanna Bridges, who had been brought up in considerable privacy in South Wales, where she possessed an estate. Bishop Heber, following the Jones' Manuscripts, speaks of her as a

[1] Sometimes spelt *Lanisdale.*

natural daughter of Charles I., the result of an amour when he was Prince of Wales and under the influence of the licentious Buckingham. De Quincey says the tradition is imperfectly verified.[1] Whether it is true or false is no great matter, but it has been repeated by every writer on Jeremy Taylor, and it is likely enough that the fact itself, if such it were, would set up a sort of attraction to a man of his imaginative temperament and Royalist leanings. The lady certainly presented a striking likeness in appearance and disposition to the unfortunate monarch, and the extreme seclusion of her early years and the mystery in which her parentage is enveloped at once go to lend probability to the suggestion and to hinder its solution.

However strong a hold the principles of asceticism may have had on Jeremy Taylor's character they were never of that particular kind which excludes the passion of love. Bursting forth again and again in his sermons and other writings, like luscious fruit bending under its own ripeness, we have the most beautiful images and quotations to illustrate the ever-present passion, though elevated and refined by the religious principle to which alone it yielded in his affectionate and holy nature. And over all his expressions of love there reigns a mysterious yet fascinating sadness, the result probably of his keen sense of life's misery, the shortness of its joys, his personal misfortunes and his deep-seated natural melancholy. Herein he resembles some of the great pagan poets, as well as the great writers of the Old Testament, whom he took as his models.

[1] *Autobiography*, chap. xv.

It is in this sense of love, and the expression of it, that I venture to suggest an important difference between our author and his great Puritan contemporary. In the realisation of domestic life it is perhaps hardly fair to compare them, for both the marriages of the divine appear to have been supremely fortunate. But we must look deeper than the accident of marriage for the grounds of a contrast which arises in a radical difference of nature and temperament. In spite of his theological bias to the contrary, Milton was by far the greater ascetic and recluse. His character was too strong and independent to require the consolations of the opposite sex, or the society of a family, which would probably have been a bar to his happiness in the same degree as it would interfere with his solitary meditations. He was one of those characters, not altogether unknown in literature, who find their perfect development in the isolation of celibacy. It may be questioned whether he ever felt the dominion of love as a passion; and his passages, where the sexes are brought into close relation, exquisite as they are, strike one rather as the result of reading than actual experience. They differ from Jeremy Taylor's as a finished piece of sculpture differs from the living creature of flesh and blood, whom to see is to desire.

Milton has all the impassibility of a classical statue: in reading Taylor we can scarcely resist what Dr. Johnson calls the "amatory propensities".[1]

[1] Both writers, as usual, are consciously or unconsciously autobiographical. Milton's Satan, which has had a marked effect on English theology, has in some respects its prototype in the great author's own character.

Taylor's splendid sermon on "The Marriage Ring" has been pronounced "divine" by no less a critic than Lord Lytton, and is full of the writer's characteristic beauties.[1] It is remarkable that there is scarcely any allusion to his wives in his correspondence. Whatever the cause it cannot be referred to any want of appreciation. This is one of his delightful pictures of connubial happiness: "Nothing can sweeten felicity itself but love. But, when a man dwells in love, then the breasts of his wife are pleasant as the droppings on the hill of Hermon, her eyes are fair as the light of heaven, she is a fountain sealed, and he can quench his thirst and ease his cares, and lay his sorrows down upon her lap, and can retire home to his sanctuary and refectory and his gardens of sweetness and chaste refreshments. No man can tell, but he that loves his children, how many delicious accents make a man's heart dance in the pretty conversation of those dear pledges; their childishness, their stammering, their little angers, their innocence, their imperfections, their necessities, are so many little emanations of joy and comfort to him that delights in their persons and society.

"But he that loves not his wife and children feeds a lioness at home, and broods over a nest of sorrows; and blessing itself cannot make him happy; so that

[1] The comment of the great novelist above referred to occurs in *The Modern Phædo*. Those who are disposed to question his capability of judging a sermon, except on its literary merits, may be referred to Parson Dale's admirable discourse (on *Gal.* vi. 5) which forms the twelfth chapter in the second book of *My Novel*, into which, by the way, two quotations are introduced from Jeremy Taylor on *Christian Prudence*.

all the commandments of God enjoining a man to 'love his wife' are nothing but so many necessities and capacities of joy. She that is loved is safe, and he that loves is joyful. Love is an union of all things excellent; it contains in it proportion and satisfaction, and rest and confidence."—*The Marriage Ring.*

Again: "Man and wife in the family are as the sun and moon in the firmament of heaven; he rules by day and she by night, that is, in the lesser and more proper circles of her affairs, in the conduct of domestic provisions and necessary offices, and shines only by his light, and rules by his authority; and as the moon in opposition to the sun shines brightest, that is, then, when she is in her own circles and separate regions; so is the authority of the wife then most conspicuous, when she is separate and in her proper sphere: *in gynæceo*, in the nursery and offices of domestic employment."—*Ibid.*[1]

[1] In the following beautiful examples from *Paradise Lost* the superiority of the sterner sex is to be noticed:—

"He, in delight
Both of her beauty and submissive charms,
Smil'd with superior love, as Jupiter
On Juno smiles, when he impregns the clouds
That shed May flowers, and press'd her matron lip
With kisses pure."—Book IV.

"So cheer'd he his fair spouse, and she was cheer'd;
But silently a gentle tear let fall
From either eye, and wip'd them with her hair:
Two other precious drops that ready stood,
Each in their crystal sluice, he ere they fell
Kiss'd as the gracious signs of sweet remorse,
And pious awe that fear'd to have offended."—Book V.

CHAPTER V.

Exaggerated Notions of the "Divine Right of Kings"—Charles I. Supported by the Clergy—Growing Dislike Towards Them, especially the Bishops—Taylor writes his *Episcopacy Asserted* — Criticisms on the Work — The Civil War—Sequestration of Taylor's Living—Iconoclasm and Irreverence—Damage to Churches—Distress of the Clergy—Suppression of the Liturgy—Taylor writes in its Defence.

It is now time to take a glance at the national situation. The crisis was impending in which the sorrows and troubles of private life were to be overshadowed by a national calamity. It would take us beyond the limits of literature and theology to unravel the complicated web of causes which ended in the Civil War. Where so many questions, political and religious, were concerned, where so many rival interests were at work, where so much that was good and bad was found on either side, where brothers were ranged against brothers and fathers against their sons, it is impossible to point to any single circumstance or person as more than others responsible for the event, or to decide absolutely for or against either party. Looking at the catastrophe and its results with the impartiality which the interval of two centuries and a half may be supposed to afford, we can safely say that the Church and country have been infinite gainers

by their misfortunes. The evil has been used, and more good thereout created. As a violent thunder-storm clears the air, as a serious illness often carries off an accumulation of small ailments, so the great contest of the seventeenth century may be said to have purified the land and the body politic and ecclesiastical, though it has left the marks of its ravages as a warning against tampering with the principles on which the happiness of individuals, and the fabric and progress of society, are dependent. We can now see faults on either side—that a little timely firmness here, or forbearance there, may have averted the issue. It is easy to be a prophet after the event. But we can hardly shut our eyes to one important ground of the popular disaffection, namely, the exaggerated importance which the King and his adherents had got to attach to the royal prerogative.

The rule of the Plantagenets and Tudors had been arbitrary and overbearing, at times amounting to a tyranny which only assumes the appearance of virtue under the personal character of the monarchs who wielded it, or when seen through the glamour with which it has been invested by writers of fiction, and might have led to a general rebellion long before, but for the deference paid (often quite unaccountable to us at the present day) to the person or power of the sovereign. But, on the whole, the administration of those lines was not altogether unfavourable to the people, between whom and their rulers the mutual obligations and responsibilities of feudalism were still operative. It remained for the Stuarts to develop to

its fullest extent the doctrine which they deduced from Holy Scripture, without the limitations which Scripture had placed upon it, *viz.*, *The Divine Right of Kings*, which made it criminal to say or do anything against "the Lord's Anointed," and could be turned to the justification of any foolish or iniquitous measure originating in the royal mind or having the sanction of the royal seal.[1]

The King was supported by the clergy but opposed by the great body of the people. The increase in population since the days of the Tudors, combined with the various causes of discontent and the feebleness of the ruling monarch to make the people less obedient than they had been, and the growing power of the House of Commons furnished them with the means of resistance. To strike a blow at the roots of "the deadly upas tree" of clerical influence a Bill was brought in, to which Charles was weak enough to

[1] The qualities of royalty which have now passed into "legal fictions"—namely, that "the King can do no wrong," that he is the "Fount of Justice," that whatever concessions he may make are acts of *Grace*, and that "the King never dies," which endow him with the Divine attributes of Impeccability, of Grace, Justice and Immortality, in consequence of which he is described in legal language as *Vicarius Dei in terrâ*, and spoken of as "His Sacred Majesty"—were then held without the qualifications since imposed upon them in practice. Since the great struggle of the seventeenth century the doctrine had been neglected by Churchmen till it was revived by certain writers of the Oxford School, struck by the obvious parallel in points raised during the Catholic Revival with those between the Royalists and Roundheads. The opinion of these writers and their successors was somewhat altered by Lord Beaconsfield's "Public Worship Regulation Act," which showed them its danger to ecclesiastical polity, and even to Christian truth, if taken too literally.

give his assent, to deprive the whole Episcopal Bench of the power of voting in Parliament. The growing feeling against clericalism and Episcopacy resulted in the committal of Laud to the Tower in 1640, and, five years later, in his execution. In the interval Taylor wrote his *Episcopacy Asserted*, in which he insisted on the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, and for which he was rewarded by the empty title of Doctor of Divinity—one of the few honours that King Charles still had at his disposal.

The work was dedicated to Lord Hatton. He was a friend of Sir William Dugdale, and is said to have helped him in the compilation of the celebrated *Monasticon Anglicanum*. The full title of Taylor's little manifesto is "Episcopacy asserted against the Acephali and Aërians, new and old". It was published in 1642, under the encouragement of many petitions to his Majesty and both Houses of Parliament, soon after the King's retirement to Oxford. Bishop Heber points out what he considers the fundamental weakness of Taylor's argument, in setting out with the assumption that the Divine authority for a particular form of Church government is to be found in Scripture; an assumption which, he says, is parallel to that maintained by the Puritans of Elizabeth's reign and completely refuted by Hooker in the third book of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*. And he implies that the author rather infers the Divine origin of the doctrine from its immediate necessity, in the practical government of the Church, than from any positive instructions of our Lord or the words of Scripture. "If," Taylor

says, "there be no opinion of religion, no derivation of a Divine authority, there will be sure to be no obedience." On the other hand, Heber admits that our author has "satisfactorily established that the Apostles, left in charge of the faithful, commissioned by Christ and guided by the Paraclete, delegated to three different orders of men distinct and different portions of the authority which they had themselves received; that they ordained in different parts of the world apostles, or bishops, like themselves; elders to act in subserviency to those bishops, and deacons to assist those elders". This seems quite sufficient to place the doctrine on a Scriptural basis, though whether the Church can get along as well without bishops as with them may still be questioned. In fact, the doctrine rests on as good authority, and is open to the same discussion, as any other dependent on inference and primitive practice as distinguished from positive injunction. This position seems to be all that Taylor aimed at, and his argument was no doubt strong enough for those who shared his views, and as unconvincing as usual to those who differed from him. Speaking of his controversial works generally, it may be said that, like most liberal-minded writers, he is in the habit of reviewing both sides of a question fairly, and in doing so he frequently states the case of his opponents with greater strength than his own—a method which is sometimes more successful than an unmitigated castigation.[1]

[1] Dr. Tulloch criticises Taylor's work as follows: "Instead of resting the defence of Episcopacy on the rational grounds of Hooker,

On the 22nd August, 1642, the King raised his standard at Nottingham, and during the three following years the country was plunged in a bloody conflict till the royal forces were annihilated at the battle of Naseby. The two main aspects of the war are the political, in which the Lords were opposed to the Commons, and the religious, or struggle between the Church and Puritanism. Speaking roughly, the King, clergy and aristocracy found themselves against the great body of the people; though, from the very nature of the case, family interests or religious considerations occasionally led to the adoption of sides at variance with any such easy division, and, where principles were stronger than the ties of relationship, members of the same family were found fighting against each other, so that it may truly be said "a man's foes were those of his own household". Taylor's loyalty, and the obligations of a royal chaplain, led him to join the King at Oxford, and to share for a time in the wanderings and reverses of his army, with the glory and discomfort of a capture and short imprisonment at Cardigan Castle. It seems that he was

which still interest and impress all true thinkers, Taylor is content with nothing less than taking up the narrow principle of the Puritans and arguing that the plan of Church government must be necessarily 'platformed in Scripture'. The result is very unsatisfactory. Neither the statements nor the arguments of the treatise will bear examination. They are marked by uncritical assumptions and a mass of traditional pedantries which look imposing, but which weaken and obscure rather than strengthen or throw light upon his conclusions. Its chief excellence consists in the concise and rapid divisions into which he throws his reasoning, so as to bring all his points successively in good order before the reader."—*Rational Theology.*

generally treated with the consideration due to his learning and piety. These, however, did not prevent the sequestration of his living, where his place was supplied by occasional lecturers till 1661, when he was made Bishop of Down and Connor, and John Allington appears as the rector of Uppingham. The *Mercurius Aulicus* for Monday, 6th May, 1644, gives an account of the behaviour of the first of these lecturers, Isaac Massey, which is almost too disgusting to be believed were it not in harmony with what was going on all over the country. The paragraph is as follows: "This Massey, at a Communion this last Easter, having consecrated the bread after his manner, laid one hand upon the chalice, and, smiting his breast with the other, said to the parishioners, '*As I am a faithful sinner, neighbours, this is my morning draught*,' and turning himself round to them, said, '*Neighbours, here's to ye all*,' and so drank off the whole cupful, which is none of the least. Many of the parish were hereby scandalised, and therefore departed without receiving the Sacrament. Among which, one old man, seeing Massey drink after this manner, said aloud, '*Sir, much good do it you!*' Whereupon Massey replied, '*Thou blessest with thy tongue, and cursest with thy heart; but 'tis no matter, for God will bless whom thou cursest*'. This Massey, coming lately into a house of the town, used these words: 'This town of Uppingham loves Popery, and we would reform it, but they will not,' and, without any further coherence, said, 'but I say, whosoever says there is any king in England besides the Parliament at Westminster, I'll make

him from ever speaking more'. The master of the house replied, 'I say there is a king in England besides the Parliament at Westminster'; whereupon Massey, with his cudgel, broke the gentleman's head."[1]

As far as the Church of England was concerned, the feeling let loose during the war manifested itself in four chief directions, *viz.*, in the havoc wrought in the cathedral and parish churches identified with its worship; in the poverty and ignominy to which the exiled clergy were exposed; in the stagnation inflicted on sacred literature; and, closely connected therewith, the suppression of the stately liturgy in which the devotion of the Church had for ages been expressed. Our ecclesiastical buildings have largely recovered during the nineteenth century from the scandalous treatment to which they were subjected; but, except in those rare cases where the personal influence of military leaders could be secured to restrain the soldiers under their command, there is scarcely a cathedral or important church which does not bear marks of the iconoclastic fury of the time in its empty niches and broken glass; some show more grievous signs of mutilation, and others (otherwise decently restored) still retain the holes made by bullets in their walls and towers during the Civil War.[2] In Gloucestershire, a

[1] The Rev. R. A. Willmott quotes the above, with the suggestion that, as the paper was a Royalist publication, it may be necessary to take the narrative under discount.

[2] There are churches which owe a fictitious reputation in this way to Oliver Cromwell in parts of England which he never visited.

Colonel Massey, probably a brother of the foremen-tioned lecturer, earned an evil repute by his sacrilegious exploits in stripping churches of their ornaments, selling the sacred vessels and tearing up the Prayer-books.

At Winchester, the soldiers quartered in the Cathedral amused themselves by throwing the bones at each other from the old Saxon coffins, whose contents were so hopelessly mixed up that it is impossible to say whose or how many bodies they now hold. At Lichfield, during the notable siege, the Cathedral was exposed to all sorts of profanation, and the most valuable records of the city were scattered to the winds. The guards broke up the pavement of cannel-coal and alabaster, battered the windows and carvings; or, dressed in surplices or other vestments, played at hare and hounds to the sound of horns extemporised out of the organ pipes.[1]

Other churches, more fortunate, were enveloped in whitewash, which, however we may deplore the taste that could thus obscure the most delicate carving and mural painting, was the means of preserving much precious work from total destruction. These are but samples, taken at random, of the furious and reckless profanity that was going on all over England, destroying the labour of centuries and laying up a heritage

[1] "One of the soldiers happening to raise the lid of Bishop Scrope's tomb, and discovering a silver chalice and a crosier, every other tomb was at once ransacked in the hope of similar treasures, and the ashes of Abbots and Bishops were cast about with brutal indecency —the Governor setting the example by laying hands on everything of value within his reach."—*Siege of Lichfield* (Gresley).

for the present age of ecclesiological research and restoration.[1]

While the sacred buildings were thus desecrated, and their pulpits open to every canting hypocrite who wished to air his opinions, the clergy expelled from them were wandering about, if not exactly "in sheep-skins and goat-skins," at least in poverty and fear of personal insult, with the loss of self-respect which is always apt to follow on contempt and cruelty, and with infinite risk to their morals and learning. Even where they were so fortunate as to find a patron, his protection was often purchased at the expense of that personal dignity which is one of the best safeguards of virtue.[2]

[1] I believe I am right in saying that at Ely the only figure that escaped destruction is a small statue, with gilded crown and sceptre, which I am told owed its preservation to its identification with King Edward VI.

[2] Lord Macaulay gives a picture of the dependent condition of the clergy, which is as melancholy in the facts as amusing in perusal:—

"During the domination of the Puritans, many of the ejected ministers of the Church of England could obtain bread and shelter only by attaching themselves to the households of Royalist gentlemen; and the habits which had been formed in those times of trouble continued long after the re-establishment of monarchy and episcopacy. In the mansions of men of liberal sentiments and cultivated understandings, the chaplain was doubtless treated with urbanity and kindness. His conversation, his literary assistance, his spiritual advice, were considered as an ample return for his food, his lodging and his stipend. But this was not the general feeling of the country gentleman. The coarse and ignorant squire, who thought that it belonged to his dignity to have grace said every day at his table by an ecclesiastic in full canonicals, found means to reconcile dignity with economy. A young Levite—such was the phrase then in use—might be had for his board, a small garret, and £10 a year, and might not only perform his own professional func-

It requires no great powers of imagination to realise the damage done to Church literature by the degradation of the only set of men capable of producing it. It is notorious that the Puritans, as a theological school, have done little or nothing in compensation. Their efforts were chiefly spent in the manufacture of witty pamphlets and other ephemeral productions which are only saved from oblivion by the ardour of collectors.[1] The really great works which can in any way be claimed for the party will be found to owe their permanent value in most cases to the degree in which their authors broke away from their own traditions. Milton, to take the most conspicuous instance, was much too great and independent to be fettered by them; but (although he has had a distinct influence on English theology) he was not a theologian, and does not come within the category of writers to which I refer.[2]

tions, might not only be the most patient of butts and of listeners, might not only be always ready in fine weather for bowls, and in rainy weather for shovel-board, but might also save the expense of a gardener or a groom. Sometimes the reverend man nailed up the apricots; and sometimes he curried the coach horses. He cast up the farrier's bills. He walked ten miles with a message or a parcel. He was permitted to dine with the family; but he was expected to content himself with the plainest fare. He might fill himself with the corned beef and the carrots; but, as soon as the tarts and cheesecakes made their appearance, he quitted his seat, and stood aloof till he was summoned to return thanks for the repast from a great part of which he had been excluded."—*State of England in* 1685.

[1] I had intended to quote the titles of some of the more striking of these publications, but hesitate to affront the fastidious delicacy of the present generation.

[2] Readers of *Woodstock* will remember that the old Squire, with the prejudices of a Royalist and Churchman, had put Milton on his private *Index Expurgatorius*.

The work of the Renaissance was thrown back several generations by the Puritan supremacy, as far as classical and original English literature were concerned. The licentious productions of the Restoration, which were but a reaction against Puritan restrictions, completed the barrier erected against healthy and natural writing during the Civil War and the consequent Puritan dominion.

Although the motive was a religious one, and literary consequences were not at all thought of, there can be no doubt that a heavy blow was dealt at literature by the suppression of the stately and classical liturgy of the Church, and the substitution of the *Directory* for the Book of Common Prayer. The date of this remarkable piece of legislation was 3rd January, 1645.

The Directory for the Public Worship of God in the three Kingdoms was not so much a book of devotions as a set of instructions to the minister, who was allowed the discretion of using what the book provided or extemporising a service according to his personal taste and ability. It was followed by another ordinance "for the more effectual putting in execution the *Directory*," whose aim was to interdict the Prayer-book, not only in churches but in private houses. The inhibited book was of course still used by those who had the bad taste to prefer it, and were prepared to run the risk of a fine of £5 for the first offence, of £10 for the second, and for the third "one whole year's imprisonment without bail or mainprize," while fines ranging from £5 to £50, at the discre-

tion of the magistrate, were imposed for "saying or doing anything in opposition, derogation, or depraving" of the *Directory*. In Macaulay's words it became "a crime in a child to read by the bedside of a sick parent one of those beautiful Collects which had soothed the griefs of forty generations of Christians" —and for the next fifteen years the Church of England, as a body holding a recognised national position and free to exercise its functions, was wiped out of existence.

In our horror at this state of things we are tempted to forget the basis of truth in the Puritan position. It was the necessary consequence of a reaction against the formalism which is only too apt to attend on long established and prosperous religious bodies, and from which they are usually saved by the fire of persecution. The Church of England, encrusted as it was with worldliness, and hampered by its connection with the State, had lost its original spirituality, and afforded no opening for individual genius or strong religious convictions, unless subordinated to the orthodoxy which was supposed to render them innocuous. The healthy criticism which might have saved it was impossible. The antagonistic feeling thus provoked was intensified by the monarch and his advisers, and the Church had to pay the penalty of her leaders' faults. She required reformation and elasticity, both of which were communicated to her in a measure by her humiliation. And, as always happens when the passions of the mob are let loose, a great deal was done under the cloak of religion, and a great deal more out of

sheer wantonness without any motive whatever, for which neither the Government nor the better minded Puritans can be held responsible, except in a qualified sense as not exerting themselves to prevent it.

In the year 1646, Jeremy Taylor published his *Defence of the Liturgy*, a timely apologia for the Prayer-book and its admirable forms as opposed to the poor compilations of the *Directory* and the extempore effusions which it sanctioned. A second and enlarged edition followed in 1649, shortly after the execution of Charles I., with the author's name and a reprint of the original dedication to His Majesty—a striking proof of Taylor's courage and consistency which was likely to bring him into trouble.

If any man might have been expected to favour the unpremeditated prayers supposed to be uttered under the direct influence of the Spirit, it is surely the eloquent Jeremy Taylor. With him there can have been no lack of suitable words to express the wants of human nature. Yet we find him defending the use of set forms by all the arguments that could be employed—and, with reference to the inspiration of individuals, he urges that if, as the Presbyterians concede, it is the minister and not the people whose business it is to prescribe the words for common use, the office might still be more fitly executed by the Church in general, which has a fuller promise of Divine guidance than any individual minister has a right to expect.

As I have already remarked, the prayers composed by Jeremy Taylor are simpler in style than any of

his other writings. They are quite destitute of the ornament and illustration which we recognise as an embellishment in his sermons, but which his good taste prevented him from using in addresses to God as savouring of irreverence. Some objectors to liturgical forms have asked why a minister may not be trusted to compose prayers for himself as he composes his sermons. To these our author has the obvious answer that there is an essential difference between prayers and sermons, which cannot be better illustrated than in his own works. In one case he suppresses himself in the consciousness of a superior presence: in the other he gives free play to his exuberant fancy. His sermons are as perfect in their way as any compositions of the kind; but his prayers, simple and concise as they are, cannot for a moment be compared with the ancient collects of the Church, which say more in fewer and better words than any prayers that have appeared since their Divine model, the Paternoster.

In one part of this Apology our author advocates a restriction on the use of the Bible in a passage which Bishop Heber, and possibly many modern critics, would wish differently worded:—

"If a free use to all of them, and of all Scriptures, were permitted, should not the Church herself have more cause to complain of the infinite licentiousness and looseness of interpretations, and of the commencement of ten thousand errors, which would certainly be consequent to such permission. . . . And can the wit of man conceive a better temper and expedient than that such Scriptures only, or principally, should

be laid before them all in daily offices, which contain in them all the mysteries of our redemption and all the rules of good life?"

Although the author expresses himself thus generally, and without reference to individual reading, and elsewhere approves of the Church lectionary and daily offices on the ground of their including the whole of the Old and New Testament, and (more frequently) the Psalter, he no doubt lays himself open to the same criticism as that aroused in more modern days by the Eightieth Tract for the Times on *Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge*, which created a great deal more opposition than its innocent author expected, and that precisely on the same ground of its supposed interference with private liberty and judgment.

On the other hand, Taylor could not shut his eyes to the mischief of an indiscriminate use of the Bible, in face of the numberless fanatical sects which flourished all over the country, propagating the most absurd doctrines and practices, which, however differing from each other in detail, had a common origin in a private interpretation of the Scriptures on which they all professed to be founded. From his point of view this was sufficient to justify his doctrine of reserve as a safeguard against abusing "the mysteriousness of Scripture by the petulancy of the people to consequents harsh, impious and unreasonable, in despite of government, in exauctoration of the power of superiors, or for the commencement of schisms and heresies".

That the principle of selection was harmless enough in itself, and even desirable for special purposes, was admitted by some of his opponents by the publication of Cromwell's *Soldier's Bible*, which had the practical *imprimatur* of the party theoretically most opposed to Taylor's statement on the subject.

CHAPTER VI.

The *Liberty of Prophesying*—Its Contents and Moral.

THIS remarkable book was published in 1647. Two preliminary remarks may be made about it: first, that it would have been more valuable had it been produced when the Church was a persecutor instead of when she was persecuted; and, secondly, that it derives a value of another kind from this very circumstance, as a proof of the author's courage in thus boldly expressing himself against the world. The book, like the more celebrated *Novum Organum*, is much talked of by those who have never read it; and the reason is probably the same in both cases, namely, that the principles laid down have long since established themselves among the most common-place doctrines on their respective subjects. As Coleridge puts it: "There are some truths so obvious that they are apt to lie bedridden in the dormitory of the soul, side by side with the most absurd and exploded errors". In this case men have ceased to wonder at the originality of the conception, or the boldness of its announcement.

Although one of the most learned and laborious of our author's works, and partly for that very reason,

it is one of the least interesting to a modern reader, deficient as it is in the poetical imagery and classical decoration which make his other writings attractive. The truth enunciated being better known than the book itself, it may not be out of place here to give a brief sketch of its contents, and to correct some misapprehension respecting it. It is a generous plea for liberty of opinion on minor points of doctrine and practice, and an argument against persecution as a means of enforcing uniformity. The substance of Taylor's argument, and the principles on which he rests his scheme, are set forth in the opening chapters on the nature of faith and the nature of heresy. The second of these chapters, which must be taken in conjunction with the Introduction, gives a brief history of the growth of persecution within the Church, and shows how contrary it was to the teaching of its Founder and the practice of primitive times; that it really originated in outside heretical sects; and that when the Church herself unfortunately adopted it in retaliation, it was always under protest from her best doctors; that it was not till comparatively modern times that persecution had any encouragement in the Western Church, and that capital punishment was never inflicted for heresy till it was applied to the Albigenses on the suggestion of their great persecutor, Dominic, in the thirteenth century. The Holy Scriptures are proposed as our ultimate guide in matters of faith and conduct, and the Apostles' creed as implicitly containing all necessary Christian doctrine, and as an adequate security for the sacred deposit of the

Faith. The rest of the volume is devoted to a consideration of the insufficiency of all other grounds of religious certitude. Our author does not question the inspiration and infallibility of Scripture itself, in which his other writings show him to have been a believer, probably *verbatim et literatim;* but in view of the difficulty of its interpretation, and the incompetence of tradition, ecclesiastical councils, the Pope, the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, nay, of the Church itself, in its divided state (and the consequent impossibility of arriving at a really œcumenical consensus), to settle disputed questions, he argues that each individual must eventually be thrown back upon his own reason and conscience. He does not deny that error may possibly result, but argues that in pious persons a mere error of opinion will be innocent—suggesting, by implication, that opinions derive less value from the orthodoxy than from the morality of those who hold them, and that where wrong notions are arrived at by the ungodly, there would consequently be no object in correcting them—certainly not by compulsion. He regards amplifications of the simplest form of creed, such as the Apostles', and the rudimentary forms existing in the New Testament, as necessary evils, only justified as correctives to the heresies which brought them forth. Even the Nicene is spoken of as unadvisable, though unexceptionable in itself—and the Athanasian as composed, according to St. Thomas Aquinas, "*non per modum symboli, sed per modum doctrinæ,*" not so much for imposition on others as for the preservation

of doctrine within the Church.[1] He accordingly recurs to the Apostles' Creed as the "only necessary symbol" of Christian doctrine, the whole of which it implicitly contains; and adds that "it is better the implication should continue than that by an explication the Church should be troubled with questions, and uncertain determinations, and factions enkindled, and animosities set on foot, and men's souls endangered, who before were secure by the explicit belief of all that the Apostles required as necessary".

This line of thought runs through the whole volume, and is thus summarised by its author in his concluding section :—

"Such bodies of confessions and articles do much hurt, by becoming instruments of separating and dividing Communions, and making unnecessary or uncertain propositions a certain means of schism and disunion. But then men would do well to consider whether or no such proceedings do not derive the guilt of schism upon them who least think it; and whether of the two is the schismatic, he that makes unnecessary and (supposing the state of things) inconvenient impositions, or he that disobeys them because he cannot, without doing violence to his conscience, believe them; he that parts Communion because without sin he could not entertain it, or they that have

[1] "If the early Church regarded the very knowledge of the truth as a fearful privilege, much more did it regard that truth itself as glorious and awful; and, scarcely conversing about it to her children, shrank from the impiety of subjecting it to the hard gaze of the multitude."—Newman on the "Formation and Imposition of Creeds," *Arians of the Fourth Century*, chap. ii.

made it necessary for him to separate, by requiring such conditions which to man are simply necessary, and to his particular are either sinful or impossible."

The second (1659) and subsequent editions conclude with a beautiful story, which contains the moral of the book in an allegorical form. Taylor gives no further reference to his authority than that he "found it in the Jews' books," from which it was long set down to his own invention. Bishop Heber tells us, however, that his learned friend, Mr. Oxlee, had traced it to the Bostan of the Persian poet Saadi, whence it is quoted in the Epistle Dedicatory to the translation of a Jewish work by George Gentius. The work of Gentius appeared in 1651, and if Jeremy Taylor got it there its absence from his first edition (1647) is accounted for. The allegory is given below.[1]

[1] "When Abraham sat at his tent door, according to his custom, waiting to entertain strangers, he espied an old man stooping and leaning on his staff, weary with age and travel, coming towards him, who was an hundred years of age. He received him kindly, washed his feet, provided supper, and caused him to sit down; but observing that the old man ate and prayed not, nor begged for a blessing on his meat, asked him why he did not worship the God of heaven? The old man told him that he worshipped the fire only, and acknowledged no other God; at which answer Abraham grew so zealously angry that he thrust the old man out of his tent, and exposed him to all the evils of the night and an unguarded condition. When the old man was gone God called to Abraham and asked him where the stranger was? He replied: I thrust him away because he did not worship Thee. God answered him: I have suffered him these hundred years, although he dishonoured Me, and couldst thou not endure him one night, when he gave thee no trouble?

"Upon this, saith the story, Abraham fetched him back again, and gave him hospitable entertainment and wise instruction. 'Go thou and do likewise, and thy charity will be rewarded by the God of Abraham.'"

To appreciate the *Liberty of Prophesying* as it deserves we must remember that persecution was then regarded as a legitimate instrument for the propagation of the Gospel and the suppression of religious error. All parties became persecutors in the day of their power, and, when they suffered in their turn, we do not find them complaining of their treatment as wrong in itself so much as of its injury to the truth, which each party supposed to be its own peculiar property. The reign of Mary differs very little from that of Elizabeth in its severity towards defections from the State religion. The Puritans were as harsh as Churchmen when in the ascendant. It is interesting to notice that the two most conspicuous answers to Taylor's work did not come from that branch of the Church which, rightly or wrongly, has been accused more than any other of cruelty in suppressing those who differed from it, but from representatives of that Calvinistic school which in all other respects is in direct antagonism to it. The reply from Samuel Rutherford is entitled *A Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience*, and has been described as the most elaborate and systematic attempt to justify persecution that has ever been written. The title of Mather's effusion is *The Tenet of Persecution Washed White in the Blood of the Lamb*, not in the sense that its guilt required pardon, but that the act was justified by the religious motive. These two books probably represented the opinion of most Christian people. It was allowed on all hands that error might be lawfully punished in order to suppress

it, and that the punishment might be increased till it ended in the recantation or death of the offender. The latter would, of course, be looked upon as a glorious martyrdom or the due reward of iniquity, as viewed by those who suffered or those who inflicted it. Roughly speaking, there are three grounds on which all persecution has been justified: first, the benefit of the sufferer, who was tormented in this world to save him from eternal misery in the next; secondly, as a punishment due to crime thought to be sanctioned or required by the erroneous belief; thirdly, because the opinions condemned were supposed to be bound up with dangerous politics, and therefore assumed the nature of sedition.[1]

The first has been the motive suggested for the persecution of heretics by the Church; the second, for the persecution of idolators by the Jews; the third, for the persecutions in England during the Tudor and Stuart periods and Commonwealth, which were of course those that Jeremy Taylor chiefly had in view. Frequently these motives have been combined with one another to meet a similar combination, real or imaginary, in the offences. *Pour encourager les autres* was another motive invariably added to the others, whether separately or in combination. Thus the persecutions inflicted on the early Christians under the Roman Empire were partly to suppress a false religion, partly because of the unnatural crimes of which the Christians were accused, and partly because

[1] Notice the juxtaposition of "sedition, privy conspiracy and rebellion," and "false doctrine, heresy and schism" in the Litany.

of the danger to the State which their secret meetings were supposed to indicate, and always to prevent the spread of their opinions.

The Canaanites were put to the sword for holding wrong notions about the Deity, as well as for the sensual indulgence which accompanied their idolatrous worship. The Sectaries who followed Cromwell and the Churchmen who followed Charles I. accused each other not only of religious error, but of treasonable intentions and practices. It was the deliberate opinion of the Church of England that the parties opposed to her doctrinally were also opposed to the State which she represented; and, on the other hand, during the fifteen years of Puritan supremacy in England the dominant party quite consistently aimed at the extinction of the creed and ritual, as well as the politics of their enemy, under the impression that they were inseparably allied.

It was to break down this notion, whether held by members or enemies of the Church, that Jeremy Taylor wrote—and not only does his work show his courage in fearlessly stating what was so likely to provoke hostility, but his striking originality in grasping a truth which had probably never occurred to any one else in all its fulness. And his book is the more remarkable in view of the author's known political and ecclesiastical bias, which might have been supposed to lead him in the opposite direction. Some critics have gone so far as to suggest that this might have been the case had the position of the Church and Puritanism been reversed; but if there

were anything of the opportunist in his composition, he chose a very bad time to publish his opinions, and his whole life is a satisfactory answer to the libellous suggestion. The fact is that his natural breadth of mind, widened by his insatiable appetite for reading, often led him away from the traditions of his own school and to hold views on various doctrinal points sometimes thought to exclude each other, or, at all events, scarcely possible to be held simultaneously.

In the work under consideration, for instance, there is a chapter on the case for the Anabaptists, which Principal Tulloch describes as "an admirable piece of pleading on behalf of a sect generally repudiated and condemned," in which Taylor held the balance of argument regarding baptism, on either side, with such an even hand that his own friends were left in doubt to which side he inclined. To satisfy them, he added an appendix in answer to "the Anabaptists' arguments," as he had stated them. This is one out of many instances which might be given in illustration of the catholicity, or, as some would say, the ambiguity of Taylor's Churchmanship—an early and isolated specimen of the type now attaining the dignity of a school which has to be reckoned with as one of the most powerful constituent forces in the English Church, if it does not hold her destinies, *sub Deo*, in its hand. In other words, he was one of those who, while firmly holding to the belief in an Absolute Truth, refused to guard it by anathema, or to force it on others by persecution. He said that real unity was not to be secured by insisting on an unwilling compliance with

external forms of worship or an outward assent to dogmatic statements on disputed points, which would be valueless without the consenting will and affections of those who professed them, and that these never had been, and never could be, secured by Directories or Acts of Parliament. His ideal of a Church seems to have been that previously expressed by St. Bernard under the double image of our Lord's vestment and Joseph's coat of many colours, the first to illustrate its unity in essentials, the second its variety in details. *In veste varietas sit: scissura non sit.* The simple bond of unity which he proposed was the Apostles' Creed, the only common symbol held by all the religious bodies by which the Church was rent as well as by the Church herself. Beyond this he was apparently prepared to allow the fullest liberty in teaching and ceremonial. This seemed to him the only possible compromise when feeling ran so high, and when almost every doctrine, except such elementary truths as the Creed contains, was made the subject of fierce discussion.

In the circumstances of his time the good sense and moderation of his proposal are obvious. It has been objected that when the position of parties was reversed, and he was brought into power, he was not so ready to extend to others the liberty he had advocated in his day of misfortune. He has consequently been charged with writing solely in the interests of the Anglican Church, and with a casuistical insincerity in the impartiality which he assumed when it suited him to all religious bodies. Of course, as a consistent

member and dignitary of the Church of England, and a firm believer in her system apart from its political application, he may be supposed to have written primarily in her behalf. He could not have done otherwise.

It is admitted that, when he reached the Episcopate, he was strict in enforcing her discipline on those who had undertaken to submit to it within his jurisdiction. But there does not appear to be any evidence of severity towards those beyond her pale, to whom he was ready to accord the same liberty of prophesying he had advocated for the Church herself. It must be remembered that, when the clergy were ejected, their places were filled by men who were practically Nonconformists in practice and opinion; and even when a readjustment was attempted at the Restoration, many benefices continued to be held by men who were Calvinists in teaching and discipline, while satisfying the State by the oath of uniformity whose principles they evaded. Bishop Taylor was necessarily severe in dealing with such cases; but they were not contemplated in his book, the object of which was to secure a *modus vivendi* to all religious bodies, independently of each other; certainly not to sanction men in teaching and practising what belonged to one body while holding office in another, receiving their stipends from it and bound by its rules.[1]

It was only men of Taylor's far-seeing wisdom who

[1] In commenting on the sermon *Via Intelligentiæ* preached before the University of Dublin in 1662, Principal Tulloch remarks that "The sermon in question is intimately related to the views expounded in the *Liberty of Prophesying*, and generally reasserts the liberal principles of this work, with modifications which were

could perceive how really harmless, as regards true doctrine, all honest freedom of expression concerning it, or even the enunciation of individual mistakes, was likely to be. It has been noticed that in those countries where the severest restrictions have been put upon political speaking and writing there has always been a tendency to rebellion; but where men have been allowed freely to express their minds, they are more likely to content themselves with this outlet for their feelings without proceeding to acts of violence. Similarly, in the religious world, it will generally be found that the truth is safest where it is freely discussed, and where the various shades of error can display themselves in their true colours, which will be more likely to lead to their correction than where opinions are suppressed by authority. The grounds therefore on which liberty in religious opinion might be advocated are almost parallel to those in favour of a free press. It was in 1644 that Milton published his *Areopagitica*, or Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing, undoubtedly one of the finest of his fine (and unfortunately neglected) prose compositions. It is remarkable that from the two opposite religious sides, and from men differing in many respects so widely from each other, two works should have come with a similar object, and at a time as unfavourable to their reception as needing their wholesome doctrine; also that both books should have won their way,

not new, but which received from him a new and special prominence in the different circumstances in which he was placed." —*Rational Theology.*

through a good deal of opposition, to public approval, and that the principles they advocated, and were then regarded as subversive of religion and civil society, are now accepted among the truisms of religion and politics. The reason is chiefly to be sought in the essential and unanswerable truth of the principles which the writers laid down, the truth always ultimately prevailing; and, secondly, in the force of argument, the vigorous eloquence of style and the copious flow of language in which the writers—each by far the most eminent on his respective side—expressed their opinions. It is a melancholy reflection that while we are enjoying the fruits of their labour, and hosts of modern writers are now writing what they could not have written but for the courage and ability of these master-minds, the particular works which have laid the foundation of their liberties have almost passed into oblivion, and their titles scarcely known except to professional students.

As regards literary style it is freely confessed that the *Areopagitica* is superior to the *Liberty of Prophesying*, which indeed is one of the least ornate of Taylor's writings. But for solid argument, with occasional flashes of the author's poetical genius, it still holds its place among the classics of our language, and must always have a claim on our gratitude for its brave advocacy of a good cause when it required the courage of a martyr to support it.

Half a century earlier [1] the great Bacon had written

[1] The first edition of the essays was published in 1596; the *Advancement of Learning* in 1605.

with his usual force and clearness on *Unity in Religion*, the true bounds of which he saw in the distinction between "points fundamental, and points of opinion, order or good intention". In the essay and elsewhere he refers to St. Bernard on Psalm xlv. 14, to the effect that uniformity, which is to be distinguished from unity, is not to be expected in this world, the vesture of the Church being *circumamicta varietatibus* [1].

Bacon also deprecates all persecution, forcing of consciences and appeals to the sword, as "bringing down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a Dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven, and setting out of the barque of the Christian Church the flag of pirates and assassins".

This is the sum and substance of Taylor's argument: that agreement is only to be expected in the leading doctrines of religion, *e.g.*, those set forth in the Apostles' Creed, while differences in minor points may be expected to vary with the differences in human nature, education and predisposition.

The work has been misrepresented as a scheme for uniting all religious bodies into a church on the basis of a minimum of belief. This is not the case. He

[1] St. Bernard, *Ad Guillel. Abbat. Apologia* (p. 983 L., ed. Paris, 1640). "Et hac ratione in tota Ecclesia, quæ utique tam pluribus tamque variatur dissimilibus ordinibus, utpote regina quæ in psalmo legitur *circumamicta varietatibus*, nulla pax, nulla prorsus concordia esse putabitur."

In the Vulgate (which Bacon usually quotes) the words are as given above in italics, but are rendered in the English Psalter "in raiment of needlework".

does not propose the Apostles' Creed as a test and symbol of Churchmanship, admitting all who accept it into communion with the Church of England. He had too high a sense of the Church as a divine institution to ignore the distinction between her and the sects by which she was surrounded,

> "Unnumber'd as the sands of Barca,
> Or Cyrene's torrid soil".

All he proposed was that those who believed the articles of the Creed should leave each other alone in other matters, whether of faith or discipline, instead of forcing a formal and external compliance which would have been valueless in a religious sense. There is one point in which Churchmen may be unable to follow the author, and that is in his objection to the more detailed and precise statements of doctrine in the other creeds, which he here appears to regard as so many impediments to Christian union.

If there is any objection to them in his other works it is too casual to be quoted as a deliberate opinion. The inference, both from the omission of positive statement on the one hand, and from the whole tenor of his writings on the other, is that he has no personal disagreement with the articles in question, but would be content to waive an exactness of definition which hindered their acceptance among Christian bodies outside the Church. He was too well acquainted with the history of the creeds to admit that the Church as such could relinquish any part of them without appearing to sanction the particular heresies against which they

were directed. And he was also aware that the Apostles' Creed contained, in its simple embryonic form, a complete scheme of Catholic doctrine—in fact, all that the other creeds contain—though its conciseness admits of a freedom of interpretation which their greater precision forbids. The Nicene Creed, in fact, is such an interpretation made by the Eastern Church; and the Athanasian an extended interpretation expressing the view of Western Christendom. In saying this we are not forgetting the almost coeval antiquity of the Eastern Creed as a formulary, but are regarding the Apostles' Creed as a collection of Scripture statements accepted by the Universal Church separately and in principle long before they were put together for public recitation in their present shape, as an amplification of the baptismal formula laid down by our Lord.

As regards Jeremy Taylor's personal belief, it would be quite possible to construct a paraphrase on every article in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, selected from his writings, to show his agreement with their tenets. On the other hand, it is also quite possible that an opponent might make a similar collection in modification of what he says elsewhere. But this would be to wrest his chance expressions from their context, or at least from the tenor of his views as a whole, and is no more than can be said of any other great eclectic writer—or, indeed, of Holy Scripture itself, from which isolated texts can be quoted to contradict each other and to support almost every form of heresy.

Perhaps the two most interesting chapters in the book are those in which the author discusses the position of the Anabaptists and the Romanists.

Taking these as typical of the religious bodies between which the English Church holds the balance, we shall see that the problem of unity presented the same difficulties in the seventeenth century as it presents to-day. Then, as now, the differences on either side appear at first sight so strongly marked as to offer little prospect of reconciliation. It was no part of Jeremy Taylor's object to effect the unity of Christendom, if by that phrase is meant a congeries of all schools and parties into a society in which all distinctive differences should be annihilated under an external and compulsory system. What he advocated was liberty of conscience and a free discussion of those minor points of doctrine and discipline which separate Christians who are really at one in fundamentals, confident in the final victory of truth. The most he prayed for was that "unity of spirit in the bond of peace" which is the best preparation for external communion; and, as an English Churchman, he held that, if divided Christendom were ever to be united, it might please God to bring it about through the instrumentality of that Church whose historical and theological position seemed to point to her for the work.

CHAPTER VII.

Jeremy Taylor at "Golden Grove"—Influence of Nature on Genius—Illustrated by some Poetical Quotations—The *Great Exemplar*, or *Life of Christ*—Contrasted with the *Imitatio Christi*.

JEREMY TAYLOR was more fortunate than most of the deprived clergy. He not only found a refuge from the storm, but one that was quite free from those ignominious conditions which a high-minded man would hesitate to accept. His patron was Richard Vaughan, Earl of Carbery, an ardent Royalist and devout member of the English Church, who made Taylor his family chaplain at "Golden Grove," near Llanfihangel, in Carmarthenshire.[1] This delightful

[1] Our author obviously refers to this retreat at "Golden Grove," among other incidents in his life in Wales, in the following passage. It occurs in the Dedication of the *Liberty of Prophesying* just considered.

"In the great storm which dashed the vessel of the Church in pieces, I was cast on the coast of Wales; and in a little boat, thought to have enjoyed that rest and quietness which in England I could not hope for. Here I cast anchor; and thinking to ride safely, the storm followed me with so impetuous a violence that it broke a cable and I lost my anchor. And here again I was exposed to the mercy of the sea, and the gentleness of an element that could neither distinguish things nor persons. And but that He who stilleth the raging of the sea, and the noise of his waves,

residence had the advantages of a position "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife," amidst the most romantic and beautiful surroundings. I suppose we all admit that geographical conditions have a certain influence on character and intellect; at any rate Taylor's work at Golden Grove exhibits this sort of influence in the very directions we should expect from the isolation and beauty of the scene—first, in the abandonment of the controversial tone forced upon him while in the midst of the world; secondly, in the felicitous poetical illustrations from nature, which are more abundant in his works written in this solitude than in those written elsewhere. The banishment which has sometimes been injurious or fatal to scholarship in cases where the mind and circumstances of the exile have been unfavourable, turned out to be the best thing that could have happened to Jeremy Taylor, as far as his contributions to English literature are concerned. He had leisure to write well and abundantly, and the scenery of the district was in every way encouraging and suggestive to his genius. A closely argued and logical treatise could perhaps have been written just as well amidst the houses of a great city and the stimulus afforded to the intellect by the controversies which called it forth. But such contemplative and devotional works as the *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*, the *Life of Christ* and many of our author's sermons, owe their interest to influences

and the madness of the people had provided a plank for me, I had been lost to all the opportunities of content and study." The house was burnt down in 1729.

of another kind. They are redolent of the country. The murmuring waters, the odour and colour of flowers, the hum of insects and the song of birds, the raging wind, the forest bending beneath the storm, even the worm crawling across the path and stretching out its elastic length after a shower, are all put under contribution to point his moral or adorn his doctrine.

It is always interesting to identify works of genius with particular places. Scott's favourite walk on Salisbury Crags, the glades and bowers at Rokeby, Addison's path at Magdalen, the terrace at Wells where Ken thought out his Evening Hymn, will always be sacred to the lover of literature from their association with particular works, perhaps as the channel of Divine inspiration.

At Golden Grove "Taylor's Walk" used to be pointed out as the scene of his lonely meditations, or conversations with his host and hostess during his agreeable exile. We cannot doubt that many of the exquisite passages scattered about his works in the way of illustration are literal descriptions of what he saw at Golden Grove—just as the woody glades and landscapes of Paradise are actual pictures of Milton's beloved Buckinghamshire.[1] Here he wrote his *Life of Christ.* It has been suggested that it probably originated in a course of sermons at Uppingham. If so, the scenery of Midland England may not have been without its influence on its composition; but it was in Carmarthenshire that the author elaborated

[1] He retired, during the plague of London, to Chalfont St. Giles, where Thomas Ellwood provided him with a retreat.

and prepared it for the press; and many of those natural touches were doubtless here used in the embellishment which make it the "Paradise Regained" of English prose. The scenery of the neighbourhood is well described in the poem of Dyer's which takes its name of *Grongar Hill* from a conspicuous feature in the landscape.[1] The ruined castles of Dryslwyn and Dynevor were visible from the windows of Golden Grove, and the valley of the Towy may have furnished our author with many a suggestion. His habit of introducing his images with the words "So I have seen," or "So have I known," probably indicates that the passage which follows is the result of his observation, though glorified by his poetic vision. Here is one for instance:—

"So have I known the boisterous north wind pass through the yielding air, which opened its bosom, and appeased its violence, by entertaining it with easy compliance in all the regions of its reception. But when the same breath of heaven hath been checked with the stiffness of a tower, or the united strength of a wood, it grew mighty, and dwelt there, and made the highest branches stoop, and made a smooth path for it on the top of all its glories."—*Holy Dying*, chap. iii.

His illustrations from the sun and moon are numerous. One has already been quoted (see chap. iv.). Here are a few others:—

[1] John Dyer was born about 1700 near Llandilo, in Carmarthenshire. The poem was published in 1727, and is remarkable for its descriptions of the natural scenery of the district.

"Sometimes be curious to see the preparation which the sun makes, when he is coming forth from his chambers in the East."—*Holy Living*, chap. i.

"When the sun approaches towards the gates of the morning, he first opens a little eye of heaven, and sends away the spirits of darkness, and gives light to a cock, and calls up the lark to matins, and by and by gilds the fringes of a cloud, and peeps over the eastern hills, thrusting out his golden horns, like those which decked the brows of Moses when he was forced to wear a veil, because himself had seen the face of God; and still while a man tells the story, the sun gets up higher, till he shows a fair face and a full light, and then he shines one whole day, under a cloud often, and sometimes weeping great and little showers, and sets quickly; so is a man's reason and his life."—*Holy Dying*, chap. i.

"Persuasion enters like a sunbeam, gentle, and without violence: and open but the window, and draw the curtain, and the Sun of Righteousness will enlighten your darkness."—*Holy Living*, chap. iv.

"So have I seen the rays of the sun or moon dash upon a brazen vessel, whose lips kissed the face of those waters that lodged within its bosom; but being turned back and sent off with its smooth pretences, or rougher waftings, it wandered about the room, and beat upon the roof, and still doubled its heat and motion."—*Holy Dying*, chap. iii.

The following illustration in the second part of his sermon on the "Return of Prayers" has been traced in germ to another writer. If Taylor's usual

introductory words are to be taken strictly, it is an interesting case of coincidence in the elaboration of the same image by different writers. If Taylor was indebted to another for the suggestion, he so far improved upon it as to exonerate him from plagiarism. It is in the detailed working out of the simile that the resemblance is noticeable: the image itself is one that could hardly escape any poet's eye, and it has, in fact, been frequently used, with varying applications, to suit the poet's purpose. I give the suggested original first:—

"Like a lark that falls to the ground sooner than she mounted up; at first she retires, as it were, by steps, but when she cometh nearer the ground, she falls down with a jump: so we decline at first, and waver lower and lower, till we be almost at the worst, and then we run headlong, as though we were sent post to hell."—*A Caveat for Christians.*[1]

There is almost as much difference between this and Jeremy Taylor's famous passage as between a block of marble and a finished statue.

"So have I seen a lark rising from its bed of grass, and soaring upwards, singing as he rises, and hopes to get to heaven and climb above the clouds; but the poor bird was beaten back with the loud sighings of an eastern wind, and his motion made irregular and inconstant, descending more at every breath of the tempest than it could recover by the libration and frequent weighing of his wings; till the little creature was forced to sit down and pant, and stay till the

[1] Smith's *Sermons.*

storm was over; and then it made a prosperous flight, and did rise and sing, as if it had learned music and motion from an angel, as he passed sometimes through the air, about his ministries here below: so is the prayer of a good man."—*The Return of Prayers*, part ii.[1]

Let us contrast this with the following terrific illustration of a bad man's prayer which occurs in the first part of the same discourse :—

"For so an impure vapour—begotten of the slime of the earth by the fevers and adulterous heats of an intemperate summer sun, striving by the ladder of a mountain to climb up to heaven, and rolling into various figures by an uneasy, unfixed revolution, and stopped at the middle region of the air, being thrown from his pride and attempt of passing towards the seat of the stars, turns into an unwholesome flame, and like the breath of hell is confined into a prison of darkness, and a cloud, till it breaks into diseases, plagues and mildews, stink and blastings: so is the prayer of an unchaste person."—*The Return of Prayers*, part i.

But it is not only the grand and sublime aspects of nature on which our author draws—the heavenly bodies, the mountain range, the storm or the forest; or the higher sort of animals, the Libyan lion, the horse, the eagle gazing on the sun—even the humble fly and the worm are turned to account. In a poeti-

[1] The latter part of this simile is strikingly applicable to Jeremy Taylor's own genius, which at Golden Grove may be said to have found its wings, to have made a "prosperous flight, and rise and sing," in its emancipation from the scholastic and other authorities which had hitherto restrained its free and natural movement.

cal, if not in a scientific sense, he ranges through what Pascal calls "La grandeur et la petitesse de la Nature":—

"Celibate, like the fly in the heart of an apple, dwells in a perpetual sweetness, but sits alone, and is confined and dies in singularity; but marriage, like the useful bee, builds a house and gathers sweetness from every flower, and labours and unites into societies and republics, and sends out colonies, and feeds the world with delicacies, and obeys its king,[1] and keeps order, and exercises many virtues, and promotes the interest of mankind, and is that state of good things to which God hath designed the present constitution of the world."—*The Marriage Ring*, part i.

"For as a worm creeping with her belly on the ground, with her portion and share of Adam's curse, lifts up its head to partake a little of the blessings of the air, and opens the junctures of her imperfect body, and curls her little rings into knots and combinations, drawing up her tail to a neighbourhood of the head's pleasure and motion; but still it must return to abide the fate of its own nature, and dwell and sleep on the dust: so are the hopes of a mortal man; he opens his eyes, and looks on fine things at a distance, and shuts them again with weakness, because they are too glorious to behold; and the man rejoices because he hopes fine things are staying for him; but his heart aches, because he knows there are a thousand ways to

[1] Readers of Virgil's *Fourth Georgic* will remember that the sovereign of the bees is always there spoken of in the masculine gender.

fail and miss of those glories; and though he hopes, yet he enjoys not; he longs, but he possesses not, and must be content with his portion of dust; and being 'a worm and no man,' must lie down in this portion, before he can receive the end of his hopes, the salvation of his soul in the resurrection of the dead."—*Funeral Sermon on the Primate of all Ireland*, 1663.

If Jeremy Taylor is sometimes indebted to others for the suggestion of his images, as he undoubtedly is to the Greek and Latin poets, it is no more than can be said of that "great protagonist on the arena of modern poetry and the glory of the human intellect," as De Quincey calls Shakespeare. In both cases the appropriation can be justified by the exaltation of the original, or by the fresh application of the borrowed image. In both cases the transfiguration that has resulted goes to make a virtue out of what might have been a venial sin in a less competent hand. Most writers of extensive reading and strong imagination are apt to hit on the same illustrations independently, or to reproduce unconsciously what they have picked up in the fields of literature, while forgetting where they found it. If Taylor is thus indebted to his predecessors, it is quite certain that his successors have been indebted to him. We have heard of a sermon of Dr. Magee's in which the famous illustration from the lark was employed (not as a verbatim quotation) with great effect. An older instance is afforded in Southey's *Thalaba*, where the poet acknowledges his lines to be the versification of a passage from Jeremy Taylor, whose "un-

improvable language" he has altered as little as possible.[1]

[1] "Behold this vine,
I found it a wild tree, whose wanton strength
Had swoln into irregular twigs
And bold excrescences,
And spent itself in leaves and little rings,
So in the flourish of its outwardness
Wasting the sap and strength
That should have given forth fruit;
But when I prun'd the tree,
Then it grew temperate in its vain expense
Of useless leaves, and knotted, as thou seest,
Into these full, clear clusters, to repay
The hand that wisely wounded it."—*Thalaba*, viii., 16.

"For so have I known a luxuriant vine swell into irregular twigs and bold excrescences, and spend itself in leaves and little rings, and afford but trifling clusters to the wine-press, and a faint return to his heart which longed to be refreshed with a full vintage; but when the Lord of the vine had caused the dressers to cut the wilder plant and made it bleed, it grew temperate in its vain expense of useless leaves, and knotted into fair and juicy branches, and made accounts of that loss of blood, by the return of fruit."—Taylor's Sermon.

The following passage will occur to readers of Shakespeare as an interesting parallel:—

"*Gardener*. . . . Bolingbroke
Hath seized the wasteful king. O, what pity is it
That he had not so trimm'd and dress'd his land
As we this garden! We at time of year
Do wound the bark, the skin of our fruit-trees,
Lest, being over-proud in sap and blood,
With too much riches it confound itself:
Had he done so to great and growing men,
They might have lived to bear and he to taste
Their fruits of duty: superfluous branches
We lop away, that bearing boughs may live:
Had he done so, himself had borne the crown,
Which waste of idle hours hath quite thrown down."
—*King Richard II.*, Act iii., sc. iv.

The *Great Exemplar* was published in 1650. Charles I. had been executed in the previous year,[1] and Archbishop Laud four years before. It is of no great importance whether the sermons, of which

The soliloquy which Shakespeare has put into the mouth of Othello—

> "Put out the light, and then put out the light:
> If I quench thee, thou flaming minister,
> I can again thy former light restore,
> Should I repent me," etc.—Act v., sc. ii.

has been traced to a classic source, on which our own poet has vastly improved. Jeremy Taylor uses the same image as follows:—

"For so a taper, when its crown of flame is newly blown off, retains a nature so symbolical to light, that it will with greediness re-enkindle and snatch a ray from the neighbour fire. So is the soul of man when it is newly fallen into sin."—*Holy Dying*, sect. ii.

[1] The fate of the unhappy monarch is said to have been singularly predicted in the passage of Virgil on which he lighted, when, one day in the Bodleian Library, shortly before the battle of Newbury, he was persuaded by Lord Falkland to try his luck by the species of sortilegy then in vogue. The *Sortes Virgilianæ* had been brought into fashion by the classical revival in place of the older mode of fortune telling from the Holy Scriptures, and consisted of opening the book at random, when the first passage that caught the eye was supposed to contain, in a more or less oracular form, the fate of the person consulting it.

> "Oppress'd with numbers on the unequal field,
> His men discouraged, and himself expell'd,
> Let him for succour sue from place to place,
> Torn from his subjects, and his son's embrace.
> First let him see his friends in battle slain,
> And their untimely fate lament in vain;
> And, when at length the cruel war shall cease,
> On hard conditions may he buy his peace;
> Nor let him then enjoy supreme command,
> But fall untimely by some hostile hand."
> —*Æneid IV.*, Dryden's Translation.

"Even in sortileges, and matters of greatest uncertainty, there is a settled and preordered course of effects."—*Religio Medici.*

the work is said to have consisted in its original form, were delivered at Golden Grove or at Uppingham. The circumstances of the country would have made such a course of addresses peculiarly suitable and comforting to members of the Church of England at any time during those years of her trial; and the martyrdom, as they regarded it, of her two great leaders would be sufficient ground for spreading the discourses by publication.

As stated in the preface, the object of the work is entirely practical and devotional, and controversial topics are avoided; though, of course, it covers doctrinal ground which would be debated by the Calvinistic and Presbyterian parties to whom it was not addressed. But neither they nor the churchpeople for whom it was written would have thought of questioning the far more vital points, *e.g.*, those bearing on the Divinity and Incarnation of Jesus Christ, which are now discussed in almost all important books on the same subject, where such discussions, however necessary for certain purposes, are apt to conflict with devotional objects. Taylor's work is divided into sixteen sections, each of which consists of an historical introduction, followed by a "consideration," to bring it to a practical and devotional issue. It breathes throughout the spirit of the *Imitatio Christi*, that is, of submission to the inevitable, sanctified by high motive and the identification of the Christian reader with his "Great Exemplar"; but in no other sense can that celebrated work be regarded as Jeremy Taylor's model. The fundamental difference

in the tone of the two books is worth considering. To put it briefly—Taylor's work is much less *severe* than the other. The reason probably is that the author in one case was a monk, while in the other he was married and a man of the world, in the sense of a full appreciation of its innocent joys and occupations, as well as a student and theologian. In the *Imitatio*, consequently, we have a series of meditations on the Divine image and dialogues between the Redeemer and the postulant, such as we can well imagine to have been actually held by the holy writer in the solitude of his monastic cell but which many devout people living in the world have felt require some sort of modification to suit their case, a modification which has in fact been attempted in certain translations, or rather adaptations, of the work for English readers, not altogether to their advantage or the improvement of the work itself.

The *Great Exemplar*, on the other hand, requires no such modification. Although tinctured by the asceticism of the author's character, and aiming at a higher level than that proposed by the business-like Church writers of the eighteenth century, *e.g.*, Hugh Blair and William Paley, its ascetic tone is balanced by the casuistry which was equally prominent in Taylor's mind, and by his intense naturalness, his love of humanity and knowledge of its trials and weaknesses. It is in fact a combination of spirituality and worldly wisdom. Whereas the author of the *Imitatio* deals with truth in the abstract, the English writer puts it in the concrete form which

distinguishes all his spiritual instructions, as if the result of actual experiences, or as if addressed to a living penitent or congregation. His work, in short, occupies a position between the continental and mediæval writers who preceded him, and the moral writers who succeeded him in England. He combines the worldly wisdom of the son of Sirach with the other quality recommended by the Great Exemplar Himself as its proper concomitant.

It has been suggested that Taylor was so far indebted to the *Vita Jesu Christi Redemptoris Nostri* of Ludolphus of Saxonia that his work was merely a translation of it: but, as Bishop Heber points out, the differences between the two are so great that we cannot suppose our author owed more than the outline and first conception to his predecessor, of whom, however, Heber speaks very highly. One does not like to differ from so great an authority, who was himself no despicable poet, but a modern reader may be disposed to modify Heber's description of the *Great Exemplar* as "luxuriating in a richness of imagery and a grandiloquence of expression, which breathe, in every sentence, the vital and essential spirit of poetry". If Jeremy Taylor had written nothing else, the praise might not have been too high—but we should be inclined to reserve the compliment for other writings of his which have cast that and all his argumentative and historical works into the shade. Here and there in the *Great Exemplar* there are certainly some exquisite poetical illustrations, and some telling anecdotes and quotations; but they want looking for;

whereas one cannot open a page of his Sermons, or his *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* without being fascinated into a continued reading by the poetical beauties, which, to use his own words, "lie scattered about in confusion and unregarded like stars on the pavement and floor of heaven".[1] Their comparative scarcity in the *Great Exemplar*, and its sober and chastened style, may be due to various causes. If originally composed at Uppingham, it is possible that the foresight of impending disaster may have combined with the more commonplace scenery to put a damper on his spirits which was removed when he found a safe shelter amid the rugged grandeur of the Welsh mountains. Or, as in the case of his Prayers, which, as I have already said, are the simplest of his writings, he may have been so far impressed by the sublimity of his subject, and the reverence due to it, as to put the rein on his imagination. But I should not be doing justice to the work, or expressing my humble opinion accurately, unless I said that it is a book to be read, marked, learned and inwardly digested. Many Lives of Christ have since appeared,

[1] "Pavement and floor." An example of the influence of Euphuism on the English language, then in a state of transition from the simple, masculine vigour of the Elizabethan age to the Latinised development culminating in Dr. Johnson. Writers of the Renaissance, *e.g.*, Jeremy Taylor and Sir Thomas Browne, are fond of using two words, with the slightest possible difference, or none at all, in meaning, for the sake of euphony, where one would now be thought sufficient. Numerous instances occur in the Prayer-book, *e.g.*, "Acknowledge and confess," "Erred and strayed," "Declare and pronounce," etc. The grammar of the period would be a very interesting separate study.

but the *Great Exemplar* still holds its own for a combination of a devout and reverential spirit with practical common-sense, which modern teachers might do well to imitate in their discourses on the same subject.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE *HOLY LIVING* AND *HOLY DYING*.

THE first of these books was published in 1650; the second in 1651. I propose to consider them in succession; though, from their necessary resemblance in style, and an occasional identity in subject-matter, it will probably happen that what I shall say of one will sometimes apply equally to both.

In the dedication of *Holy Living* to the Earl of Carbery, Jeremy Taylor gives the two chief reasons which induced him to write it—first, the degraded condition of the Church of England and the disturbance of all religious life at a time when "religion was painted upon banners, and thrust out of churches, and the Temple turned into a Tabernacle, and the Tabernacle made ambulatory, and covered with skins of beasts and torn curtains, and when God was worshipped, not as the Father of our Lord Jesus (an afflicted Prince, the King of Sufferings), nor as the God of Peace, but rather as the Lord of Hosts," when "religion had put on armour" and "unsheathed the sword"; and, secondly, the dispersal of the duly ordained ministers of religion. The condition of things which he here refers to had deprived churchpeople of their liturgical services, except in those rare cases

where they were carried on by chaplains in private families and otherwise surreptitiously in spite of the Government prohibition—while the practical extinction of the clergy made it impossible, or at least very difficult, for the laity to obtain such "ghostly counsel as their emergent needs" required, and had formerly been obtained from the pulpit or in private consultation with "the spiritual guides of souls".

On the first point the writer offers the best consolation he can to his fellow Churchmen, assuring them that if baptised, and holding fast the fundamental articles of the Christian faith and leading good lives, they need entertain no doubt that they are God's children, though deprived of the "blessings of external communion". And to supply the "ghostly counsel and advice" which was not then to be had through the usual channels, he proposes to furnish them with "a description of the means and instruments of obtaining every virtue, and of resisting all temptations," accompanied by a selection of "prayers and devotions for all occasions and all necessities". This is the scope of the work. Extensive as it must necessarily be, if it is to omit nothing important, and condensed as it must also be to bring it within the compass of an ordinary manual, it will be seen that the author has committed himself to no easy task. That he has achieved his object must be admitted by every reader who has put the book to the test its writer intended.

It may be interesting to contrast it at the outset with some other books written for a similar high purpose. The first that occur to us are the *Imitatio*

Christi and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress.* The former obviously attaches great importance to the spiritual exercises which the other ignores. Both evidently regard Divine grace as indispensable; but in one case it is taken for granted as conveyed through the channel of the Sacraments; in the other by the direct personal action of the Holy Spirit without the intervention of any external and visible media. It is curious that the *Imitation* is so distinctly subjective in its methods; while the work of the Nonconformist, which might be expected to lay stress on the interior working and state of the soul, does not allow the reader to dwell on himself at all, but occupies him on a beautiful picture of the Christian life as revealed in the travels and adventures of the pilgrim. So skilfully, in fact, is the inner moral concealed that most young people read the story without any more conception of its allegorical interpretation than they have of the political significance of *Gulliver's Travels.* In this way it is apt to defeat its own object till the reader is old enough to put the proper construction upon it.[1] Of course I do not speak of this peculiarity as a defect, but as an unexpected excellence in an author of Bunyan's predispositions. In one word, the *Imitation* is subjective, and the *Pilgrim's Progress* objective, to an extent we should rather have expected had the authorship been reversed.

Another striking difference is the example proposed

[1] It is fair to add, perhaps, that the book owes some of its success to this very condition. The least popular editions of Æsop's *Fables* are those to which the moral is appended.

to the reader in each case—one the highest that could be chosen; the other a man of like passions with himself, who never attains the high level of a saint but only reaches his goal after many sins and wanderings from the path direct. In one sense this is the inevitable result of the autobiographical element in each work, and, so far, is what we should have expected. On the other hand, each book is an interesting departure from the popular notions of its author's school—the one being accredited with the substitution of human example and mediation for the Divine; the other with recognising nothing between the Christian and his Redeemer.

Here again we have a reversion as instructive as it is unexpected. The consequence is that the books are read conjointly by religious people, either to balance each other or because the readers are alive to the value of them both. And each is extensively read in religious bodies most widely removed from that in which it emanated—of course in adaptations omitting the questionable doctrines which they are respectively supposed to inculcate.

Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living* is a combination of these opposite methods. He gives his disciple plenty to do in the way of prayer and meditation, while continually insisting on the necessity of a sacramental system as the basis and support of the religious life. But baptism, faith and good works being assumed, the reader is never suffered to indulge in any morbid introspection or to entertain any uneasiness about his spiritual state. He differs from Thomas à Kempis in

bringing every moral precept to a practical application, supporting it by illustrations from history and poetry; whereas the teaching of the latter is generally in the abstract, the definite application being left to the pupil's discretion or special needs. The authors resemble each other in the stress which is laid on the student's own efforts, and in the assumption of Church membership, with its means of grace and systematic religious duties.

Taylor resembles John Bunyan in his generally healthy and objective tone, but of course differs from him on the points where he agrees with à Kempis; though he differs from both, or goes beyond them, in the importance he attaches to good works as the consequence or cause of correct belief—if not as superseding it in details. On this ground some of his critics have charged him with an incipient Pelagianism. It is not denied that he has a tendency in that direction, or lays himself open to misconstruction on that point. There is a twofold reason for it. In the work before us, his aim, as indicated in the title, is rather to insist on a good life than on orthodoxy of belief, a certain freedom in which he had advocated in his *Liberty of Prophesying*. But his more specially doctrinal works are sufficient to exonerate him from personal heterodoxy. Secondly, whatever disposition he may show on the surface towards the Pelagian heresy may be traced to a reaction, not unnatural in one of his intensely practical nature, against the exaggerated Augustinianism of the dominant party in his day, against which he revolted on contrasting the

sanctimonious theory with the actual practice of its exponents.

The *Holy Living* is essentially a book of practical instruction. Our author, unlike many religious writers, does not begin with anything about a change of heart, or conversion, or even repentance. But taking the reader as he finds him, he enjoins on him first of all the necessity of taking care of his time and spending it profitably. It is true that this is followed by chapters on "Purity of Intention" and the "Presence of God"; but these are not laid down as abstract propositions, and are accompanied by rules for obtaining what is recommended and tests for gauging its attainment. The following chapters are occupied with such homely and useful virtues as temperance, soberness and chastity, humility, modesty and contentedness, all of which are comprehended in the general term of "Christian Charity". This is succeeded by "Christian Justice," with the duties it involves between all sorts and conditions of men; and the work concludes with a masterly examination and definition of "Christian Religion," divided into the two parts under which it naturally falls, in its internal and external aspects—the first consisting of faith, hope and love; the second of prayer and fasting, almsdeeds and repentance—the whole preparatory to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the main support and final object of the Christian life.

The *Holy Living* is as natural as it is practical. Jeremy Taylor was not only a lover of nature in general, but of human nature in particular; and con-

sequently the ideal of a Christian life which he sets before us is never so ethereal as to be beyond the reach of a devout person living in the world; the ways and means thereto are never so rigorous as to involve the destruction of a harmless individuality. Self-control there is; but free play is always allowed to innocent affections and inclinations: the discipline enjoined is not likely to interfere with the healthy development of character—to reduce the man to a religious automaton. In this respect it holds a middle place between the distinctly ascetic works that preceded it for the use of the "religious," technically so called, and the writings of the prudential school which afterwards became popular in England, whose highest aim was the inculcation of *duty* as the governing principle of life, and *reason* as the criterion of revelation and religious phenomena. But our author is still more widely removed from the gloomy religionists of the strict Puritan and Calvinistic school so unpleasantly prominent in his day. His idea of the Christian Sunday, for instance, is quite different from the dark and joyless Sabbath which the Puritans did their best to make it, to the detriment of true religion as it has proved in the long run, both in itself and in the reaction that has followed it, in countries where their influence has been most perceptible.[1]

Somewhat before Taylor's time, the English theo-

[1] He was nevertheless careful to guard against the complete secularisation of the day. "He keeps it best," he says, "who keeps it with the most charity, and the most religion."

logians, having recovered from the immediate shock of the Reformation in its earliest stages, had found it necessary to supplement the destructive policy and mere invective of its Continental teachers and those who took their cue from them in England, by some attempt at systematising the doctrine and discipline of their Church—and that with the view of strengthening what appeared to be her anomalous position between the imposing historical picture which Rome was able to present, and the cut-and-dried theology of the Genevan school. And in doing so, they found what they regarded as a satisfactory model in the Church of primitive Christianity.

It was to the Church of the Apostles and early Fathers that the judicious Hooker and Bishop Andrewes looked for precedents as regards the doctrines, ritual and polity of the reformed English Church. Jeremy Taylor was at one with them here: but not only does he go to the New Testament and the first ages of Christianity for his ideal of a Church, as an aggregation of Christians, he goes there also for his model of the perfect individual life. Consequently his morality is quite simple and natural, and free from the sophistications of a later date, but it is also very lofty and unworldly, as taking its tone from the Sermon on the Mount; breathing, as it were, the atmosphere of Calvary and the Mount of the Transfiguration. I suppose Taylor himself would be the last to claim the realisation of his ideal in his own person: but what we know of his life and character is so far correspondent with the *Holy Living* that

the book has all the appearance of an unconscious autobiography. In addition to this, a great deal of its practical value is derived from the experience of other people. The circumstances of the time would go to intensify the natural desire for sympathy and direction which is more or less felt by all men, irrespective of creed or nationality, and for which some sort of provision is made by most religious bodies. Here, as elsewhere, the Church of England steers a middle course between the compulsory system of the Roman Communion, and the neglect of method and human agency characteristic of the Protestant sects. John Evelyn tells us in his Diary that he had made Jeremy Taylor his spiritual guide. The other most prominent consultant was the Countess of Carbery. We have no reason to suppose that these were the only persons who revealed themselves to him *sub sigillo confessionis*, for he could hardly escape the penalty of his reputation as a *Ductor Dubitantium*, to which, as a priest of the English Church, he could add the benefit of absolution and the inviolable secrecy of the ordinance. The result is seen in the book before us, which is no mere collection of theories but a practical working guide to a religious life in the world.

To the same cause may be traced the tone of forbearance and considerateness in which the whole book is written, in concession to human infirmity and the difficulties of active life. It may perhaps be noticed here that on the subject of priestly absolution our author expresses himself with his usual reserve, and does not regard it as absolute or final, but as fluctuat-

ing with the penitent's progress or relapse, and open to cancellation from above unless justified by improvement where sin has been committed. This may appear unsatisfactory to people who cannot rest in uncertainty till the Day of Judgment. It is here quoted to correct the popular Protestant notion that a clean sheet can be obtained by the process to sin again *ad libitum*, or even to obtain forgiveness in advance for sins to be committed in the future. In this matter our author is supported by Holy Scripture and a consensus of human authority—to say nothing of common-sense—and herein he expresses the view of the English Church, and of the Roman also for that matter. The *Holy Living* is throughout a commentary on the troublous years on which its author's life was cast. The strife of religious parties, the bloody horrors of civil war, the old religion of the country superseded by a grotesque and repulsive caricature, the tragic fate of the King and Archbishop of Canterbury; and, besides these national calamities, the private sufferings involved in the separation and death of friends and the loss of place and fortune—all these are reflected in its pages, and go to make it so valuable because they make it so truthful. The wide experience of life and suffering thus resulting is probably the chief source of Taylor's strength as a writer. Next to it I should be disposed to place his immense and varied knowledge of literature, especially of the Holy Scriptures, and of those great classical writers, to whom we can hardly refuse the gift of inspiration, if a deep and piercing insight into the needs and aspirations of human nature

is any key to its possession. That he should have read widely in the classics and have made a free use of them in his writings, was a natural result of the Renaissance movement, whose influence in that way he perhaps exhibits more than any of his contemporaries.

That movement had had the effect, in the land of its origin, of bringing the great pagan moralists into such favour and prominence as almost to overshadow the writings of the Christian Fathers, and even the sacred Scriptures themselves. We see its influence to this day in Rome and other great Italian cities, in the juxtaposition of classical paganism and Christianity, in painting and architecture, which is regarded as an evidence of catholicity, or of corruption, according to the spectator's point of view. It is not altogether in caricature of this classical devotion that Erasmus puts the phrase "Sancte Socrates, ora pro nobis" into the mouth of the interlocutor in his *Convivium religiosum.* The subject is too long to discuss here; but it would be a great mistake to condemn this classical tendency without qualification. In the first place it was the result of a natural reaction against the excessive ecclesiasticism of the Middle Ages; and, secondly, it is hardly to be doubted that the stern morality of Plato and Epictetus was a certain safeguard to virtue amidst the vicious abandonment and practical heathenism which would have paid no attention to a directly religious literature. In Jeremy Taylor's case the classics are very far from superseding the Divine oracles of the Christian Church, and

there can be no doubt that the Church is a gainer by the use he makes of them. He says somewhere, "Enquire not who wrote this or that, but look to what is written"—a principle which he carries out with the utmost impartiality. Precepts, anecdotes, short pithy sentences, historical allusions, dramatic episodes, are drawn from the rich stores of antiquity over which he had ranged, and had treasured up in his memory or note-books.

It is a great pity that so much of his manuscript has perished in the general wreck of his times. We cannot suppose that he trusted to memory alone for the numerous quotations and references which he is fond of piling up in support of his exhortations to virtue. Thus, in his excellent directions for the "care of our time," he quotes the following cases of people who have been busy doing nothing: "Nero went up and down Greece and challenged the fiddlers at their trade. Æropus, a Macedonian king, made lanterns. Harcatius, the King of Parthia, was a mole-catcher, and Biantes, the Lydian, filed needles. Theophylact, the patriarch, spent his time in the stable of horses when he should have been in his study, or the pulpit, or saying his holy offices. Domitian was busy catching flies."[1]

[1] Archdeacon Bonney says—not without a pious reflection on the dangers supposed to lurk in the heathen classics:—

"All the treasures of ancient literature with which his memory was stored—all the sterling morality extracted by his discerning judgment from the vilest dross of antiquity are brought in aid of his impressive subject"—with which, by the way, we may contrast the compliment that Southey pays him in his *Omniana*—"His

There is one feature in Jeremy Taylor which is worth noticing as a partial result of the classical influence, though it is not peculiar to pagan authors; and that is the undercurrent of melancholy which runs through this and all his works. In his case it is counterbalanced by a Christian spirit of resignation, occasionally rising into cheerfulness, which saves it from the morbid gloom of pure agnosticism or infidelity. But it is always present, as it must be to thinkers who realise the seriousness of life as it actually is in the world, detached from the alleviations of a comfortable study or dining-room. The great pagan poets and moralists give the fullest expression, outside the pages of the Bible, to the sense of pain under which the whole creation groaneth and travaileth: and Jeremy Taylor shares it with them, not because they are pagans, but because they are human beings. He is consequently quite free from the misleading phrase-

writings are a perpetual feast to me. His hospitable board groans under the weight and multitude of viands."

"The historians, the philosophers, the orators of Greece; the poets, the satirists, the epigrammatists of Rome; the Greek Fathers, the Latin Fathers, the schoolmen, the casuists, the scholars; the Italian poets; the classicists of the Renaissance; French romances, Arabic legends—Persian kings glittering among the satraps of Asia; Roman banquets; Chian wines in purest crystal; Lamiæ that turn to serpents; Libyan lions; Pannonian bears; stags whose knees are frozen in icy streams; statues decapitated to make room for other heads; 'poor Attilius Aviola,' the 'condited bellies of the Scarus'; 'drinking of healths by the numeral letters of Philenium's name'; the golden and alabaster houses of Egyptian Thebes; the quaint, the pedantic, the imaginative, the marvellous, the grotesque—these alternate with exquisitely natural images derived from the green fields, and the violet, and the thrush's song."—Dr. Farrar in *Masters of English Theology*.

ology of certain Christian teachers who are in the habit of insisting on the "continual joy of religion," etc., as an inducement to the unconverted, but which in the sequel is apt to tempt them to abandon a religion that does not come up to their expectations. This is not the teaching of Scripture or of Christ—and it is not the teaching of Jeremy Taylor. With him virtue is to be chosen for its own sake, quite apart from its accidental or collateral advantages. He is utterly opposed to those prudential writers with whom "honesty is the best policy" and the way to heaven through worldly fame and prosperity. He is not afraid of acknowledging the disadvantages of holy living. Consequently one goes to him from narrower teachers with a feeling that there is nothing to unlearn as his teaching is put to the test of experience in actual life.[1]

The *Holy Dying* is the necessary complement to *Holy Living*, though each book is complete in itself, and may be studied independently. The titles might almost have been reversed, without doing violence to their respective contents. The whole drift and purpose of the earlier volume is a preparation for the great end, irrespective of its special chapters on that subject; while the rules and exercises of *Holy Dying* are intended to be put in practice by the living and healthy,

[1] The two English religious books of the same school which have shared the popularity of Taylor's *Holy Living*, are Law's *Serious Call* and the anonymous *Whole Duty of Man*. Both are like it in tone of doctrine and high morality, but both are deficient in the gorgeous imagery and illustration that are the peculiar charm of our author. The *Disce Vivere* and *Disce Mori*, by Dr. Christopher Sutton, have almost passed out of public recollection, though they were reprinted during the Catholic Revival.

rather than postponed till the "second childishness and mere oblivion" of the last stage of man's life. The *Holy Living*, in fact, is the prescription for *Holy Dying;* and the latter would be a very useful manual for daily guidance. The motto of both might be that excellent piece of advice of the Son of Sirach: "Whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember the end," or in the quotation which our author himself introduces, "*Quicquid feceris, omnia hæc eodem ventura sunt*". The *Holy Living*, as we have seen, exhibits very high literary qualities, but there can be no doubt that the *Holy Dying* surpasses it in the abundance, variety and beauty of its poetical embellishments. It is in the latter work that Jeremy Taylor displays himself in all his glory as the master of poetic prose. The passage to which I have already referred as having been turned to account by Robert Southey from one of our author's sermons, is one of many in which his discourses abound and might be similarly treated. But they are fewer and further apart there than in the work before us, almost every paragraph in which is a poem in spirit and suggestion, if not in form. Indeed we might quote the authority of his great contemporary Milton to the effect that true poetry is quite independent of external form, which he goes so far as to say is "rather the invention of a barbarous age to set off wretched matter" than anything essential to it.[1]

[1] *Vide* his interesting remarks on "Verse" prefatory to *Paradise Lost.*

"The writings of Plato and Bishop Taylor, and the *Theoria Sacra* of Burnet, furnish undeniable proofs that poetry of the highest kind may exist without metre, and even without the contra-distin-

But Taylor's poetical illustrations, abundant as they are, and to some minds vainly introduced to show off the writer's ingenuity, are always held in subordination to the main subject. They embellish and elucidate, but never obscure, his teaching.

Our author is here in his element. The great reason for his exuberance is to be sought in the impressive and tragical nature of his subject, which was also peculiarly suited to his cast of mind. He revels in it, and expatiates at ease among skeletons and charnel-houses. We read of the elder Grimaldi that he took a melancholy delight in wandering about churchyards and reading the epitaphs on tombstones, as an antidote to his otherwise frivolous existence.[1]

In Jeremy Taylor's case it was no doubt a relief from present suffering to contemplate similarly the end of all things. The *vanitas vanitatum* was impressed upon him by the circumstances of his time and of his private life. He was differently constituted from those who find a remedy in outward distractions. To him all things were serious, and he is consequently at his best in tragedy.

In the solemn preparation for death, in the quiet prayerfulness of the sick chamber, in the funeral vault, the grave watered with tears and sprinkled

guishing objects of a poem. The first chapter of Isaiah (indeed a very large portion of the whole book) is poetry in the most emphatic sense; yet it would be not less irrational than strange to assert that pleasure, and not truth, was the immediate object of the prophet." —*Biographia Literaria*, chap. xiii.

[1] See the autobiography edited by Charles Dickens. *Old Mortality* furnishes us with another example.

with violets, he is quite at home, and gives a free rein to his poetic imagination under the inspiration of his awful theme. Its influence on him is also no doubt to be referred to the heathen writers on whom he draws so freely, who were themselves saturated with a sense of the vanity of life, intensified by the absence of anything more than probable conjecture as to the future, which, of course, made death a much more gloomy and impressive subject than where its terrors are balanced by a belief in Resurrection and eternal existence. Their most terse and suggestive maxims, consequently, their most beautiful illustrations, their loftiest moralising, their saddest and most touching reflections, are drawn out in the presence of death. Their greatest works have been suggested by the calamities and tragic end of their heroes and heroines. Jeremy Taylor is relieved from the morbid apathy or despair which might result from this sort of contemplation, unrelieved by the teaching of Christianity: but he was too genuinely human to resist the impressions which had so affected the great minds of antiquity, and too honest to conceal them for the purposes of religious edification.

The *Holy Dying* consists of five chapters, each subdivided into several sections, in which the whole subject is laid out with all the method of a text-book, but without any of its dry monotony. First we have a "general preparation towards a holy and blessed death" set before us for consideration. This is followed by practical application as an "exercise". Then we have an account of the temptations incident to sick-

ness, with their remedies, also followed by a chapter of exercises for the sick man's practice. The fifth and last chapter is addressed to the clergy, and contains instructions for their guidance in the visitation of the sick, with suitable prayers—some from ancient sources —the whole concluding with a peroration on the burial of the dead and the execution of their will. It is possible that the title of the book may deter some people from reading it. On the other hand there is just a danger of its object being lost on others who pick it up occasionally for the sake of the quotations. Perhaps the greatest praise that can be bestowed upon it is to say that while dealing with the most serious and important of all subjects, it is as pleasant reading as any romance—and he who reads in the proper spirit is sure to be made wiser and better by it.[1]

The purpose and moral of the work are thus clearly indicated in the Dedication:—

"I am treating your Lordship (Richard, Earl of Carbery) as a Roman gentleman did St. Augustine and his mother; I shall entertain you in a charnel-house, and carry your meditations awhile into the chambers of Death, where you shall find the rooms dressed up with melancholic arts, and fit to converse

[1] The autobiographical element is also seen here, *e.g.*: "Concerning ourselves it is certain if we had ten years agone taken seizure of our portion of dust, Death had not taken us from good things, but from infinite evils, such which the sun hath seldom seen".—Chap. iii., sect. 7.

This was written in 1651, after losing his living at Uppingham in 1642, when his house was plundered and his family driven out of doors and after witnessing the execution of Charles I., in 1649, with the attendant evils in Church and State.

with your most retired thoughts, which begin with a sigh, and proceed in deep consideration, and end in a holy resolution. The sight that St. Augustine most noted in that house of sorrow was the body of Cæsar clothed with all the dishonours of corruption that you can suppose in a six months' burial. But I know that without pointing, your first thoughts will remember the change of a greater beauty, which is now dressing for the brightest immortality, and from her bed of darkness calls to you to dress your Soul for that change which shall mingle your bones with that beloved dust, and carry your Soul to the same quire, where you may both sit and sing for ever" (*vide* the Frontispiece and the explanation given therewith).

CHAPTER IX.

THE SERMONS.

In 1650, the year of the publication of his *Holy Living*, Taylor preached his splendid sermon at Golden Grove on the death of the first Lady Carbery.[1] The *Holy Dying*, which followed in the next year, may be regarded as an amplification of the funeral discourse, and was doubtless partly suggested by the last illness and death of the author's beloved patroness. The dedications of both books imply that they are to some extent the outcome of his ministrations in the Carbery family, and were written under the inspiration of the same lady, the first as a portable guide for herself, the latter as a consolation and *Memento Mori* for those she left behind.

In 1651 he also published the set of (twenty-seven) sermons for the summer half, and in 1653 the set

[1] It is worth noticing that her husband, Richard Vaughan, Earl of Carbery, was in close relations with three eminent poets, *viz.*, Jeremy Taylor, who enjoyed his friendship and hospitality for many years; Butler, who wrote his *Hudibras* in a room over the entrance to Ludlow Castle while secretary and steward to the Earl; and Milton, who wrote the masque of *Comus* for performance at the same castle, the part of *the Lady* being specially designed for the second Countess of Carbery—Alice, a daughter of the Earl of Bridgwater.

(twenty-five) for the winter half; making a complete course for the Christian year. This will therefore be the proper place for a brief consideration of these discourses. They are supposed to have been preached in the church of Llanvihangel Aberbythic, or the chapel of Golden Grove, and two interesting questions have been asked arising out of the place where they were delivered, *viz.*, whether their scholarly tone would have been intelligible to a rustic audience; and, secondly, whether the author altered and elaborated them for publication. That he did so is not at all unlikely; the text and general purport being all he thought necessary to retain of the original draft.

On the other hand, it is quite certain that his congregation was not wholly rustic and uneducated. His first duty as the Earl's chaplain would be towards his patron and family; and the known hospitality of the house would always ensure an educated attendance, capable of appreciating, and in fact expecting, a learned sermon. And the mere fact that he was known to be preaching at the Grove would draw the church gentry of the neighbourhood together to hear him, as a rare opportunity in those disturbed times.

Whether, like John Keble at Hursley, he was capable of accommodating himself to a village congregation, is another question, which I feel disposed to answer in the negative—and, even taking the sermons as they are, it is a moot point whether any such simplification would have been required. The classical quotations are generally accompanied by a paraphrastic transla-

tion, or are themselves simply the summing-up and condensation, in the tersest form, of the doctrine or moral he had been insisting on. So subsidiary are these quotations that they might be omitted altogether without seriously disturbing the sense and continuity of the discourse, from which, in one sense, they are interesting digressions; though, of course, it would be a great loss to literature if the sermons were so mutilated. The audience was really the mixture of sexes, ages and social conditions which is generally found in a country church, with a preponderance, in all probability, of the upper and more intellectual class; and the sermons contain something in them for all sorts and conditions of men and women.

The numerous illustrations from nature—the fields, flowers, winds, waves, forests, the rising and setting sun, the grape-vine, the river, the storm and mountain-mist, drawn after the manner of the sacred parables from the scenery of the neighbourhood and the familiar objects of daily life, would appeal equally to the peasant, the gardener and farm-labourer, as to the elect from London and Oxford. The same applies to the anecdotes—always appropriate and striking, and original in their application, with which the preacher's lesson is enforced.

Two interesting general questions occur here, *viz.*, whether we need assume that Taylor's audience would be uneducated, even if it consisted entirely of the humbler classes; and whether the "simplicity" which some of his critics miss would not have defeated its own object? The first we can safely answer in the

negative; for if the Renaissance was anything, it was a distinctly educational movement, which at once created and attempted to satisfy a general thirst for knowledge of all kinds. It made Jeremy Taylor what he was, and it made his audience so far like him as to be quite appreciative. They would probably have been disappointed had he reduced his discourses to a level requiring no mental exertion on their part. The second question may be answered by asking another—What is "simplicity"? The classics, which go to destroy it in our author, as some think, are simplicity itself. Take away the obstacle of a foreign language (which Taylor always removes as he goes on), there is literally nothing in them beyond the comprehension of an ordinary intelligence. Their merit lies in the power of expressing the profoundest thoughts in the neatest and most intelligible form, of condensing a long description into an epigram. The result is they are understood and enjoyed by the simplest minds. They express truths which are universally known by a sort of secret intuition—just as we seem to know the propositions of Euclid beforehand—and, consequently, there is the same sort of delighted surprise when we come across passages in them which we have all felt, but have not been able to state formally. For this reason they are appreciated equally by rich and poor, by the most highly educated and the most illiterate.

Take an illustration from Shakespeare. It will be borne out by all experienced playgoers that a performance of Hamlet or Macbeth is just as attractive

to the costermonger in the sixpenny gallery as to the nobleman in the stalls or private boxes. These, and such-like masterpieces, are occupied with the great facts of human nature in which everybody is interested, with the great truths that everybody believes.

In so far, therefore, as Jeremy Taylor makes use of the classics, they would be quite a legitimate and intelligible means of interesting an audience of all classes. And in the two points I have mentioned as distinguishing the classic from other writers, *viz.*, truthfulness of thought and simplicity of expression, he resembles them very closely.

His sermons are a mine of wealth as far as greatness of thought is concerned, and there is scarcely a paragraph which an average labouring man would fail to understand. Some of his sentences may strike a modern reader as excessively long; but they usually consist (like certain words in the German language) of a number of members; and present no difficulty when dissected. Their length is as much due to the author's anxiety to make himself clear, as to the exuberant fancy which delighted in presenting an idea in all its possible forms. The lax punctuation of the old printers is also to be remembered.

In reading these sermons we are struck, beyond the features of truthfulness, simplicity and poetical beauty, with their thoroughly useful and practical character. There is not one of them which does not lay stress on some homely duty or virtue, and show the way to reach it. Here are no idle flights of fancy, or picturesque descriptions of an unattainable sanctity. He is

all through, like his great prototype, St. Chrysostom, what is called "thoroughly English".[1]

The doctrinal contents of the sermons are no less valuable than the moral and practical, and are a perfectly clear and consistent statement of the great verities of the Christian religion, as seen from the position of an English Churchman. Taylor was too wide a man to be confined to the precise definitions of any particular school or party on points of less importance, and he is sometimes quoted as agreeing with rival theologians who are far from agreeing with each other. This is the natural result of his breadth of mind and extensive reading in all directions. But on points of real importance there is no ambiguity, much less any attempt to gloss over or reconcile the incongruous doctrines of sectarian origin. If it were necessary to fix his precise theological position, we

[1] These great preachers resemble each other in the eloquence of their language, in the abundance and variety of their illustrations, in the practical nature of their teaching and exhortation, and, to some extent, in the use they make of the pre-Christian classics. As regards the last, there is a difference which is accounted for by their respective dates, the English author giving free play to the classical scholarship which St. Chrysostom thought it his duty to restrain. Gibbon refers to the "Golden-Mouthed" in language which, with this reservation, applies equally well to Jeremy Taylor: "The critics unanimously attribute to the Christian orator the free command of an elegant and copious language; the judgment to conceal the advantages which he derived from the knowledge of rhetoric and philosophy; an inexhaustible fund of metaphors and similitudes, of ideas and images, to vary and illustrate the most familiar topics; the happy art of engaging the passions in the service of virtue; and of exposing the folly, as well as the turpitude, of vice, almost with the truth and spirit of a dramatic representation". —Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, chap. xxxii.

should have to place him with those classical exponents of the English Church who have always insisted on her identity with Catholic Christendom, the continuity of her orders, the validity and importance of her sacramental system, and the appropriateness of the liturgical forms and visible organisation in which her spiritual things are enshrined, and by which they are communicated. He bravely states what he conceives to be the truth at a time when it was before all things necessary to keep the notion of a Church well in view—not as a congeries of individuals with their own separate beliefs and practices, united only in name, but as a kingdom having its officers, rules, prescribed forms and visible constitution like any other form of government. It is true that within these wide limits he was prepared to allow great liberty of opinion—and for those outside the Church he advocated the same freedom as he wished them to exercise towards the Church herself. But his notions of a Church and ecclesiastical polity are as clear and unmistakable as those of Hooker, Andrewes and Laud—in some respects more definite, though in others more liberal.

All this is incidentally unfolded in his sermons, and would, of course, make them acceptable to men of like mind with himself, at a time when there was every temptation to sink it in the presence of the dominant religious party: and the scattered Churchmen would gather together to hear him state what no living man could state better. Anyhow, whenever he was announced to preach in London, he could be sure of a

crowded congregation—and there is no reason to suppose that he preached to empty benches, or an illiterate set of rustics alone, at Golden Grove.

Another striking feature in his sermons is their dramatic power. In Schiller's fine drama of *Wallenstein's Lager* a Capuchin monk is introduced preaching to the soldiers in camp. The sermon is said to be a literal transcript from one actually delivered, and it certainly has all the appearance of genuineness.[1] This is one instance out of many that might be given in which the theatre has borrowed from the Church for the purpose of dramatic effect or historic instruction. It is not so readily remembered that the process has often been reversed—that the Church has often been indebted to the stage for ways and means of enforcing her lessons. The mutual obligation is to be traced to the mysteries and miracle-plays of the Middle Ages, which were at once a means of religious instruction and an interesting entertainment for the people. The decline of these performances coincides with the rise of the modern drama, which eventually superseded them, and severed the connection they had involved between secular and religious agencies. The separation is an interesting minor fruit of the Renaissance and Reformation movements. But, although the Church ceased to be identified with the theatre, and in course of time a spirit of antagonism was generated between them, which reached its climax during the Puritan supremacy, each continued for some time to

[1] A copy of the sermon was, in fact, sent by Goethe to his friend, with a suggestion to incorporate it in his drama.

borrow from the other to suit its own purposes. The Church scenes in Shakespeare and Goethe, the introduction of the *Dies Iræ* into *Faust*, will illustrate the obligations on one side, while it is hard to resist the impression that the gorgeous ceremonies developed by the Church in the height of her worldly prosperity are to some extent due to the natural love of scenic effect, that is, with an eye to the spectator, as well as to the higher motives of religious worship. Further it is to be noted that most of the great preachers, of all times and all countries, have owed much of their success to the histrionic power in gesture and description thrown into their orations: and when interest has been sustained without it, it is apt to be quoted as a rare exception. The celebrated French preacher Menôt and our own Hugh Latimer, whose methods have much in common, endeavoured, as far as possible, to put their doctrines and historic illustrations into action, accompanying their words with gestures to convey their meaning over large audiences where hearing was difficult; while the terse idiomatic phrases and daring figures for which both were distinguished are in every way suited for dramatic expression.[1]

[1] Constantine the Great, when thousands flocked to hear the Emperor turned preacher, is said on a certain occasion to have caught hold of one of the listeners, and, drawing the figure of a man upon the ground with his spear, cried aloud, "In this space is contained all that you will carry with you after death". And the effect of his discourses was enhanced by the loud cheers which greeted his most telling passages.

Savonarola, denouncing in the Duomo of Florence the wickedness of priests and people, and reminding them by his graphic de-

During the reign of Elizabeth, when the Renaissance movement attained its fullest outcome here, and when the English drama was brought to perfection, it was not at all unusual for the preacher to quote from the great dramatists, with suitable actions and modulations of voice, as well as to draw on the theatre for illustrations in aid of religious instruction.[1]

The Renaissance brought the written sermon into fashion, in place of the extemporaneous preaching of the Middle Ages. The change was a necessary consequence of the cultivated taste of the time, which required a more elaborate and finished style in such compositions, subject to the test of classic models, and free from the grammatical license of familiar speech which was pardonable, if not necessary, in the fervid

scriptions of the fall of Jerusalem of what they might expect from the Divine vengeance, availed himself of all the arts of oratory and gesticulation with the Crucifix in hand. (See Stanley's *Lectures on the Eastern Church*, and Villari's *Life and Times of Savonarola*.)

[1] Thus, in a sermon preached by Bishop Andrewes (on St. Matt. vii. 6), before James I., on Ash Wednesday, 1622, he says: "But our Saviour Christ tells us here that there want not that make His Church a very stage, and play with religion, and every part of it, so carrying themselves in things pertaining to God, as if they had some play or pageant in hand. It is but too true this. If you will set up a stage, I will find you actors for it anon. Will you see alms played? Out comes Judas sagely, with a sentence in his mouth, *ut quid perdito hæc?* Will you see prayer played? Look upon the players in the twenty-third chapter after, that under colour of a long prayer now and then, prey upon the houses and goods of a sort of reduced widows, and make as good gain of their prayers as Judas would have done of his alms." And further on in the same discourse: "And in very deed, the marriage at Shechem, and the circumcision for it, Absalom's vow, Jehu's sacrifice, what were they but so many plays, mere masks, imitations of him that is *Roscius in scena*, the master hypocrite of all".

exhortation and denunciation of an inspired prophet or revivalist. But although the sermons of the seventeenth century were usually written out *in extenso*, and in some instances tend towards the cold unimpassioned essays of a later date, it was a very general practice among great preachers to commit their discourses to memory, and deliver them without reference to the manuscript, as though they were the spontaneous effusion of the moment. This would add an oratorical effect to language previously composed, and none the less forcible in itself from the circumstance of its deliberate preparation; and in fact would go to combine the advantages of the essay with the oration. Almost all the great sermons of our period exhibit the double quality of close reasoning and rhetoric, and contain passages evidently written for a dramatic effect which would be lost in reading from a manuscript.

It goes without saying that Jeremy Taylor possessed the gift of dramatic description in an extraordinary degree. His natural aptitude for it, fostered by the taste of his day, was brought to perfection by a close study of the best examples and by constant practice; and he indulges it to the fullest extent. Any number of passages might be quoted from his sermons to show the use he made of this powerful instrument, sometimes, it may be acknowledged, to the detriment of logical coherence. As we have before implied, the dramatic and poetic qualities were stronger in him than the reasoning power which he neglected. We have already given some selections, but could not

do justice to our author without practically repeating his sermons.

One read in its entirety will be more instructive than a collection of extracts from them all.[1]

Taylor is at his best in those great funeral sermons, which may be distinguished from his others by the same marks that distinguish his *Holy Dying* from *Holy Living*. His character and imagination were of that serious cast which is most at home in the solem-

[1] "Without lingering to subject these discourses to any further analysis, I may notice the sublime description of the world, suddenly transformed into a kingdom of fear, pervaded by a dreadful twilight, and resounding with one shriek from unnumbered graves, burst open at the summons of the trumpet, then heard rolling over the dissolution and crash of nature. Everywhere we see a tremendous power of aggravation, and a breadth and vehemence of execution that belong to the noblest scenes of tragedy. One image has always struck me by its immeasurable capacity of terror; it is the comparison of the sufferings of the doomed sinner, conveying into a dark and indivisible unity of torment—not broken or weakened by the participation of millions of lost souls—to the whole body of the sun, which is seen by every one in the same horizon.

"The 'Contemplations of the State of Man' contain a simile of equal power, where the Divine justice is likened to a river of fire, obstructed and dammed up during thirty or forty years, but rushing upon the sinner at the Last Day, with an irresistible inundation, and flooding him, at the same moment, with flame and vengeance. Other sermons display the abundance or the brightness, the wisdom or the tenderness, of his learning and intellect, his experience and sympathy: that on the Marriage Ring is more beautiful; that on the House of Feasting more varied; that on the Good and Evil Tongue more ingenious; that on the Faith and Patience of the Saints more pathetic; but the discourses on the Second Advent of Christ unfold the action of his mind in its grandest operations of creative energy. They are the best examples of the sublimity which formed a chief element of his genius; that mysterious faculty of representation and impression which makes dead thoughts to live and move."—The Rev. R. A. Willmott.

nities of life and death, which has no inclination to frivolities; his muse was emphatically tragic. There are flashes of wit here and there in his writings; there is that sort of irony which we notice in most writers who have suffered at the hands of the world, and are superior to it; there is plenty of humour, in the proper sense of the word, but there is nothing to raise a laugh. Other great preachers, *e.g.*, Fuller, Barrow and South, are frequently very amusing, and appeal a good deal to the sense of fun which church-goers share with other people, an appeal which often helps a bad sermon to go down, even with an educated congregation.

We feel sometimes that if Jeremy Taylor had not been a Christian he would have been a pessimist. Even when reading his sermons at home we feel as if we were in church, under the dim religious light of a cathedral. In so far as literature is dependent upon subjective considerations for its effect, we shall appreciate him most in times of misfortune, after the loss of a friend, or in the solitude of the sick chamber, or in our lonely meditations amongst the tombs. In spite of his Churchmanship, there was much of the Puritan in his composition. As it was, his tendencies that way were balanced by his humanity as much as by his ecclesiasticism. Both saved him from the melancholy pessimism of such writers as Goethe and Jean Jacques Rousseau, as well as from the scepticism of Gibbon and Voltaire, into which he might have fallen if Christianity had lost its hold upon him in his misfortunes. The nearest parallels to him that literature

affords are Dante and Milton. He resembles them both in the sublimity of his subjects and in the poetical imagination with which he invested them. All three seem at home in the unseen world. In Taylor's funeral sermons we breathe at once the air of Hell, Purgatory and Paradise; of Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained.

He has also a parallel in another field, in his contemporary Rembrandt, who also founded his art on the nature he saw around him, transmuting it by the power of an imagination which "made his darkness equal light".

His sermons are distinguished by special titles, sometimes very happily chosen to rouse curiosity by partly revealing and partly concealing their contents, *e.g.*, "Apples of Sodom," "The Entail of Curses Cut Off," "The Foolish Exchange" and "The House of Feasting". The titles of others are less ambiguous, *e.g.*, "The Flesh and the Spirit," "Lukewarmness and Zeal," etc. Another feature about them, that does not appear to have been noticed, is the happy selection of texts, which seem to be the best possible for his purpose, the fullest of suggestion; and they are certainly not the most hackneyed verses of Scripture. What could be better, for instance, and less likely to have occurred to the average preacher, than the text for the Countess of Carbery's funeral sermon: "For we must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again: neither doth God respect any person; yet doth He devise means, that His banished be not expelled from Him"

(2 Sam. xiv. 14); or that for the funeral of the Lord Primate of Ireland: "Every man in his own order: Christ the first fruits; afterwards they that are Christ's at His coming" (1 Cor. xv. 23); or that at the opening of the Irish Parliament: "Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams. For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry" (1 Sam. xv. 22, 23); or that for the Gunpowder Treason: "But when James and John saw this, they said, Lord, wilt Thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, even as Elias did?" (St. Luke ix. 54); or that for his sermon on Christian Prudence: "Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves" (St. Matt. x. 16).

To say that a sermon is "learned" is not always intended as a compliment. It is sometimes merely an equivalent for what has to be "said otherwise" for the sake of politeness. Jeremy Taylor's sermons are unquestionably learned; but the learning is never introduced for the sake of beating the air over imaginary difficulties, or questions raised by the preacher to show off his skill in refuting them. Milton has been accused somewhat hypercritically of overloading his subject with abstruse scholarship. Taylor may be open to the same objection from the same quarter. Those who are of this way of thinking can leave out what they object to, and still have enough to occupy them in both writers. In Taylor's case, anyhow, the learning is not of a kind to make one sleepy. It is always interesting—and not the less so because it is drawn from sources of

which preachers do not usually avail themselves. It consists chiefly of the gems of wisdom he had collected among the most ancient, varied, obscure and unlikely —seldom or never contemporary—writers, irrespective of their general morality or orthodoxy. Their very remoteness from the beaten paths of literature gives them all the freshness of originality. Where the bee sucks honey, the spider sucks poison—and Taylor contrives to get virtue out of pagans and heretics, just as doctors use poisons medicinally—that is, by using them in proper quantity, and at the proper time and place. He scruples not to enforce a Christian truth from an author who happened to live before the Christian era, or a lesson on virtue from a profligate, or an ecclesiastical dogma from a notorious heretic. He seems to realise the truth expressed by a greater than himself :—

> There is some soul of goodness in things evil,
> Would men observingly distil it out.
>
> Thus may we gather honey from the weed,
> And make a moral of the devil himself.
>
> - *Henry V.*, act iv., sc. 1.

Although Taylor's doctrinal position may be inferred with tolerable clearness from his sermons, they are not specially occupied with doctrinal questions; and although, as far as they go, they are an interesting commentary on the text of Scripture chosen for consideration, and other passages which occur incidentally, they lack the special features of more distinctly homiletical writings. They are so far like the English Prayer-book that they presuppose the religious education and Churchmanship of those to whom they are

addressed, *viz.*, those who have been baptised and trained in the principles of the Church Catechism.

On the other hand, and for the same reason, they do not insist on any particular side of Church doctrine or Bible truth to the exclusion of others, as is sometimes the consequence of a religious reaction against previous neglect. While, therefore, they can in no sense be taken as educational text-books, or explanations of special points of doctrine, they exhibit a Catholic breadth of tone on the whole subject of the Christian religion, which is spread out before us, as it were, in a series of panoramic views, highly coloured and illustrated. They teach, in fact, by inference and suggestion, rather than by direct statement. To many minds, therefore, they are more convincing than books or sermons more definitely didactic. Their educational value is to be judged from the whole rather than the separate parts; and they are quite free from the tediousness of most works which are written for a purpose. They are also remarkably free from the pious exhortation and sentimentalism which distinguishes the sermons of the later Evangelical school. Their teaching is conveyed indirectly, in the agreeable form of anecdote, illustration and allegory, after the manner of Holy Scripture, or of nature itself. They are full of tenderness and pathos, but the sentiment is always thoroughly masculine and genuine.[1]

[1] If we may draw a comparison, we should say that they have more of the character of Thackeray's novels than of those of Dickens in this respect: works which have divided literary opinion much in the same way as the writings of High Churchmen and Evangelicals have divided religious opinion.

To sum up: they correspond with two features in the national character on which we are apt to pride ourselves, and always have to be reckoned with by those who seek to influence it, namely, the independence which dislikes being dictated to, and the hardy robustness of feeling, tender and considerate enough when once reached, but which does not display itself on the surface, and resents anything in the shape of affectation or unreality.

There is an exuberance of language in these sermons which may strike a modern reader, accustomed to a closer and more condensed style, as a defect. They certainly present a remarkable difference in this respect to the best theological writing of our own day. But their eloquence is never of that empty and inferior kind which consists of a flow of words about nothing. Every sentence, and almost every part of a sentence, has something in it, and something different to what goes before or follows, so that one feels abbreviation would be an injury. In criticising Jeremy Taylor we must remember that he was in a great measure the creator of pulpit oratory, in its written form, in this country. He had few models. His excellencies are all his own, and his defects might have been avoided had he had any predecessors to teach him better. Some of these defects, as they appear to us, would not have been so considered by his contemporaries. One is a certain forced quaintness in his metaphors. This was the fashion of his day, and we can pardon him when we see the error in the more exaggerated form it assumed in Sir Thomas

Browne, Francis Quarles, Dr. Donne and even George Herbert.

Another is the proximity of the sublime and commonplace, disagreeably incongruous to modern taste. Here again it is scarcely fair to judge him by our standard. Much of this apparent incongruity will disappear on a close investigation of the etymology of words, and will be allowed for if we remember the changes which three centuries bring about in a language. Many words which have come to bear a commonplace or even ridiculous meaning were originally lofty and serious; while others have completely reversed their signification. Instances might be given abundantly from Shakespeare and Milton, and in fact from every author of the Renaissance period. Taking Jeremy Taylor altogether we may safely say that he has never been equalled in his own special style, though he has had imitators.[1] The only preachers

[1] The best known of these is James Hervey (1714-1758), author of *Theron and Aspasio* and *Meditations among the Tombs*. His style has often been ridiculed. Here is a little piece culled at random from his *Reflections on a Flower-garden:* "What a fund of choice accommodations is here! What a source of wholesome dainties! And all for the enjoyment of man. Why does the parsley, with her frizzled locks, shag the border; or why the celery, with her whitening arms, perforate the mould, but to render his soups savoury? The asparagus shoots its tapering stem to offer him the first fruits of the season; and the artichoke spreads its turgid top to give him a treat of vegetable marrow. The tendrils of the cucumber creep into the sun, and, though basking in its hottest rays, they secrete for their master, and barrel up for his use the most cooling juices of the soil. The beans stand firm like files of embattled troops; the peas rest upon their props like so many companies of invalids, while both replenish their pods with the fatness of the earth on purpose to pour it on their owner's table."

who can divide honours with him are the great orators of the Gallican Church, Bossuet, Bourdaloue and Massillon, the first of whom was his junior by several years, and the last by exactly half a century: so if there is any obligation it can scarcely be on Jeremy Taylor's side.[1]

Elsewhere he speaks of the sea as the "capacious cistern of the universe"; and of the sun as the "prime cheerer of the animal, and great enlivener of the vegetable tribes".

[1] Jacques Benigne Bossuet, 1627-1704; Louis Bourdaloue, 1632-1704; Jean Baptiste Massillon, 1663-1742.

CHAPTER X.

The *Clerus Domini*—*Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament*—*Golden Grove*—*Unum Necessarium* and *Deus Justificatus*—Discussion of the *Golden Grove* and Taylor's Hymns—His *Collection of Offices*—Imprisonment in Chepstow Castle and the Tower of London.

In 1651, besides the *Holy Dying*, Jeremy Taylor published his *Clerus Domini*, a treatise on the ministerial office; and between that year and 1656, besides one of the sets of sermons, his little work on the *Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament*, the *Golden Grove*, the *Unum Necessarium* (on Repentance) and the *Deus Justificatus*, on the doctrine of original sin.

In all these works he shows himself a consistent teacher of the doctrines of the Anglican Church, *i.e.*, of the doctrines of universal Christendom minus the accretions which it was the object of the Reformation to remove. In his exposition of these doctrines his tendency is towards the views that have always been held by High Churchmen, though he does not go so far as some of them in dogmatic assertion, and is sometimes quoted by their opponents on the strength of passages detached from their context. Taking his works as a whole there can be no doubt in which school to place him. His statements on the Apostolic Succession, Baptismal Regeneration, the Real

Presence, the Sacramental System, Penance, etc., are sufficiently clear to separate him in intention from the nominal Churchmen who are scarcely distinguishable from Protestant dissenters where such doctrines are concerned. On the other hand, he is often less clear on these points than his friends would like him to be, who are not satisfied with his ambiguity, even though susceptible of a " Catholic interpretation ". His whole drift is obvious enough ; but in details he is apt to present the same difficulties as the Book of Common Prayer, and, we might add with all reverence, the Holy Scripture itself—that is, in leaving many questions unsettled for the exercise of human ingenuity. His commentators and critics, therefore, have much to be thankful for.

Of the above-mentioned works the *Golden Grove* is the only one that we need consider here. The sermons have been already discussed ; the rest are of no special interest to the readers I have in view. The beautiful title of this little manual was given to it by our author in memory of Earl Carbery's hospitable mansion where it was completed ; and the name, consequently, is rather a pleasant souvenir of its origin than a key to its contents. In the poetical ambiguity of its title, as well as in religious sentiment, the book reminds us of the German *Lilienthal*, attributed to St. Thomas à Kempis, and in some of its parts the influence of that author is clearly discernible, as I shall point out. This useful little work is an expansion of the Catechism for Children which Jeremy Taylor had previously composed. In its present form

it consists of the three main divisions suggested by the Creed, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, which the exhortation to sponsors in the baptismal office enjoins them to teach their god-children as the basis of a religious education. These are brought to a practical application by our author under the respective headings of "Credenda," "Agenda" and "Postulanda," or things to be believed, done, and prayed for, to which are added a set of rules for the conduct of life, under the appropriate title of "Via Pacis". The whole is supplemented by an extremely interesting collection of hymns on the chief mysteries and festivals of the Christian Church, which are worth a much more careful and detailed examination than we are here able to give them.

The very nature of the *Golden Grove* precludes any indulgence of the author's poetical and oratorical gifts, which he here suppresses as detrimental to the object of a simple and practical guide to devotion. As he states in the prefatory address "to the devout reader," his purpose will be answered if "by these easy paths Christ's little ones are led into the fold of their great Bishop, or any ministry be done to the soul of a child or an ignorant woman". The style throughout is accordingly simplicity itself, and it would be obviously unfair to compare it with other works of his, written for a totally different end and addressed to a different class of readers.

As if, however, to compensate himself, and his readers, for the inevitable absence of his usual poetical features in the book itself, he gives the rein to his

imagination in the supplementary hymns; though whether he does so with the graceful effect of his prose writings, which contain all the spirit, if not the form, of true poetry, is a question which we are inclined to answer in the negative. One feels disposed to reverence the author of the *Golden Grove* all the more for descending from that sublime literary atmosphere in which he moved as in his natural element, to take young children and ignorant people by the hand, to show them the way to faith and holiness. The success with which he does it shows him to possess the double qualities of a good scholar and a good teacher. Unfortunately the combination is rare; and, when it is possessed, it is too often considered beneath the dignity of high ecclesiastical or scholastic position to rear the tender mind and teach the young idea. The compilation of elementary text-books is consequently often left to inferior hands, with the most disastrous results, where theology is concerned, by fixing wrong notions on the mind, which the retentive memory of childhood is apt to render permanent and ineradicable.

Another qualification which Jeremy Taylor possessed was an unusual knowledge of human nature, partly derived from the varied experiences of his outward life, partly from the secret experiences of a spiritual guide. Scattered throughout his works are numerous allusions and directions which are evidently not the vague guesses and generalisations of a mere student, but derived from personal contact with the perplexities and sufferings of his fellowmen. The pains he takes

to solve cases of conscience, though apt to strike us occasionally as far-fetched or imaginary, betray an acquaintance with the human heart which can scarcely have been gained outside the confessional. The lives of saintly characters, whether autobiographical or otherwise, abound in psychologic phenomena, and abstruse questions suggested by a severely critical conscience, which are not likely to occur to an ordinary man of the world—and in dealing with such cases our author shows himself to possess the qualifications of science and devotion recommended by St. Theresa in a confessor. The results of his knowledge, displayed in greater amplitude and detail elsewhere, are here put in the brief axiomatic form which the purpose of the manual requires.[1]

To compare small things with great, the *Golden Grove* stands in much the same relation to its author's larger and more difficult works as Bacon's *Essays* occupy towards the *Novum Organum.* In both cases

[1] The following piece of advice to penitents will perhaps be sufficient to illustrate our point:—

"Besides this examination of your conscience (which may be done in secret between God and your own soul), there is great use of holy confession; which though it be not generally in all cases, and peremptorily commanded, as if without it no salvation could possibly be had, yet you are advised by the Church, under whose discipline you live, that before you are to receive the Holy Sacrament, or when you are visited with any dangerous sickness, if you find any one particular sin, or more, that lies heavy upon you, to disburden yourself of it into the bosom of your confessor, who not only stands between God and you to pray for you, but hath the power of the keys committed to him, upon your true repentance, to absolve you in Christ's name from those sins which you have confessed to him."

the author opens, as it were, an elementary school, translates himself to the general public and talks to plain people or to children about high mysteries and duties, in a way which cannot fail to interest them, in language which they cannot fail to understand and remember. And this because each author was so fully equipped for his task by the higher scholarship which usually leaves such an interpretation of itself to inferiors. Although the manual is compressed into the brief space which the nature of the case requires, it is yet so comprehensive that it contains all the essential points of belief and practice for a religious foundation. The very simplicity in which its teaching is conveyed is likely to give a superficial reader a false impression of its value; but if carefully examined the book will be found to embody the best theology on the subjects treated. It is, in short, the result of its author's immense and catholic range of studies, added to his personal experience, condensed into the smallest compass possible.

In his exposition of the Apostles' Creed under "Credenda," he expands the elementary truths of that creed into a full doctrinal statement which throws considerable light on the interpretation he intended to be put upon it in his *Liberty of Prophesying*. Looking at the latter work through the present expansion of the Creed, we must reject the notion, that has been suggested against him as an inconsistency, of any intention to break down the barrier between the Church and the separatists. It is more probable that he thought the acceptance of the symbol really

involved Church membership; and in view of the extended meaning of which its clauses were susceptible, the Church would not be sacrificing any vital principle in recognising its recipients as her children, if previously admitted by baptism. Of course it may be argued that those who held it without having ascertained its full bearing and signification, and were still in a state of outward schism as regards the Church ordinances, or while their own conscious consent was wanting, could not be considered Churchmen in any true sense. It is not unlikely that Jeremy Taylor's casuistry may have come to his aid in settling the question to his own satisfaction—and we have to remember that when he wrote the *Liberty of Prophesying* he was arguing rather for the toleration of the Church by her enemies than for the toleration of her enemies by the Church, while the prejudices of the dominant party necessitated some sort of reserve in unfolding a theory, which, if too broadly or injudiciously stated, would have been at once rejected. The sequel shows that he did not withhold the explanation till he could give it with impunity, which releases him from all suspicion of opportunism, though his opponents may here think that in writing a book for children he had the deeper object in view of disseminating his opinions among children of a larger growth. But I am led to take the view I have suggested from the author's concluding sentences in the "Credenda," in one of which he applies the warning clause of the Athanasian to the Apostles' Creed, as containing "the Catholic Faith, which, except a man believe faithfully,

he cannot be saved," and in several others he gives the dicta of such different theologians as Tertullian, St. Augustine and St. Leo the Great, to bear out his statement that all essential doctrine is contained in the Apostolic symbol. The passage from St. Leo is perhaps most to the point, and runs as follows: "The short and perfect confession of this Catholic creed which was consigned by the sentences of twelve Apostles, is so perfect a celestial armour, that all the opinions of heretics may by this alone, as with a sword, be cut in pieces".[1]

The following selections, which might have been more numerous, from the *Imitatio Christi*, will show that the author of the *Golden Grove* merely translated and transferred them bodily to the section called "Via Pacis". Extracts might also be made from the *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* by any one anxious to show our author's indebtedness to the earlier writer.

Imitatio Christi.	Via Pacis.
"Ista est summa sapientia, per contemptam mundi tendere ad regna cælestia."	"It is the highest wisdom, by despising the world to arrive at Heaven."
"Vanitas est, carnis desideria sequi . . . nam sequentes suam sensualitatem maculant conscientiam et perdunt Dei gratiam." (Lib. I., Cap. i.)	"They that follow their own sensuality, stain their consciences, and lose the grace of God." (Sunday.)

[1] "Hujus Catholici Symboli brevis et perfecta confessio, quæ duodecim Apostolorum totidem est signata sententiis, tam instructa sit in mutione cœlesti, ut omnes hæreticorum opiniones solo possint gladio detruncari."

The writer's apparent acceptance of the legendary account of the Creed, which attributes each article to a separate Apostle, has, of course, nothing to do with the argument.

Imitatio Christi.	Via Pacis.
"Proh dolor! sæpe malum facilius quam bonum de alio creditur et dicitur; ita infirmi sumus. Sed perfecti viri non facile credunt omni enarranti, quia sciunt infirmitatem ad malum proclivem et in verbis satis labilem." (Cap. iv.)	"We rather often believe and speak evil of others, than good. But they that are truly virtuous do not easily credit evil that is told them of their neighbours. For if others may do amiss, then may these also speak amiss. Man is frail and prone to evil, and therefore may soon fail in words." (Monday.)
"Iuvat tamen non parum ad profectum spiritualem devota spiritualium rerum collatio, maxime ubi pares animo et spiritu in Deo sibi sociantur." (Cap. x.)	"Devout discourses do greatly further our spiritual progress, if persons of one mind and spirit be gathered together in God." (Tuesday.)

At the end of the manual are twenty-three hymns for the chief Christian seasons and other occasions, which the author describes as "fitted to the fancy and devotion of the younger and pious persons; apt for memory, and to be joined to their other prayers".

They have been objected to as unfit for congregational use, for which their eccentric and irregular metre, and the consequent difficulty of setting a tune to them, renders them unsuitable. Another objectionable feature, at least to modern taste, is the author's indulgence in the strained and fanciful conceits which disfigure most sacred poetry of the seventeenth century. The first of these objections is answered by the introductory words, which imply that the hymns are only intended for private devotion. As regards the second, while admitting that their very quaintness is an aid to memory in learning them by heart, and gives them a certain charm which we miss in the smooth invertebrate compositions of a later date, it must also be

admitted that the author is not free from the faults of his age—and he is certainly not at his best when hampered by the restrictions of metre. His sermons are more poetical than his verses. There is, nevertheless, a rugged grandeur and truthfulness about these hymns, which are as superior to the effete sentimentality and commonplace illustration of the modern subjective school, as the pictures of Hogarth to those of his feeble successors—moralists without his grotesqueness and without his force.

But even if Jeremy Taylor's hymns were no better than the average sacred poetry of his day—he is perhaps as superior to it as he is inferior to Milton—he would be entitled to our gratitude for taking a practical step towards supplying a want from which the English Church had been suffering ever since her offices had been done into the vernacular. It had been a source of regret to the English Reformers that, while translating the collects and other prose compositions of the Latin Church, they were unequal to the metrical interpretation of the splendid hymns used by that Church for centuries in her offices, and for which the Anglican had as yet no substitute.

One or two general favourites found their way into the vulgar tongue during the gradual elaboration of the Prayer-book, into whose covers they were admitted; but with the solitary exception of the *Veni Creator Spiritus* in the Ordination office, none of them took rank as an essential part of the public services. And we may, perhaps, congratulate ourselves on the circumstance, considering the unsatisfactory nature of the

average English hymnology as compared with the unimprovable language of the Prayer-book and Bible prose. The Anglican Church has been left to the occasional efforts of individual poets for such translated and original hymns as she possesses, which have been slowly accumulating since the Reformation. It is only in our own day, however, that any steps have been taken on a large scale to remedy the omission, for the metrical versions of the Psalter, with a few rare exceptions, are scarcely worth counting.

To Jeremy Taylor belongs the credit of one of the earliest contributions to this good object—and it would be almost too much to expect him to have reached perfection where so many have failed. There seems to be some extraordinary difficulty in the composition of hymns for public worship, if we may judge by the efforts of poets, great in all other respects. It is true that Jeremy Taylor's hymns are modestly suggested for private use; but they indicate the author's recognition of a want common to public and private devotion; and in providing for the great Church festivals, he shows the true lines on which hymns for general use should be composed—that is, in their objective tone and freedom from the expression of individual religious sentiment, in which collected multitudes cannot sincerely take part. His hymns were written for Churchmen, and are therefore strongly ecclesiastical, as distinguished from the current religion with its leanings towards the Old Testament in preference to the New, and the system which had been developed thereon. The Puritan position was a reaction against the ecclesi-

asticism which Jeremy Taylor was attached to, and thought it his duty to preserve.

With all their grotesqueness and irregularity, with all their strained imagery and exaggerated metaphor, his hymns are yet valuable and interesting as an early attempt in a path almost untrodden, in which he had no native models to guide him. That he was alive to the public want, and his own qualified ability to meet it, is evidenced by his suggestion to his friend Evelyn, that the latter ought to undertake the translation of some of the great mediæval hymns. Evelyn had already translated *Lucretius*[1] in a way which the partiality of friendship had led Taylor to praise much more highly than it deserved, and probably also led him to overrate his friend's abilities as a translator of hymns. Anyhow, he recommended him to exert himself in that direction, suggesting the *Dies Iræ* as a worthy subject for the experiment. It was just one of those hymns which belong to universal Christendom, and one which would appeal to Jeremy Taylor's taste as operated on by the judgment the Church and country were undergoing. His own verses on the *Day of Judgment* seem to reflect the spirit of the *Dies Iræ*, and will illustrate what has been said above about his style of hymn-writing:—

> Great Judge of all, how we vile wretches quake!
> Our guilty bones do ache,

[1] The oft-quoted verse from this poet,

"*Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum*,"

which is the key-note to his most vigorous poetry, was particularly applicable to the Puritan violence from which the Church was suffering in Taylor's time.

Our marrow freezes, when we think
Of the consuming fire
Of thine ire:
And horrid phials Thou shalt make
The wicked drink,
When Thou the winepress of Thy wrath shalt tread
With feet of lead.
Sinful, rebellious clay! What unknown place
Shall hide it from Thy face!
When earth shall vanish from Thy sight,
The heavens that never err'd,
But observ'd
Thy laws, shall from Thy presence take their flight,
And, kill'd with glory, their bright eyes, stark dead,
Start from their head:
Lord, how shall we,
Thy enemies, endure to see
So bright, so killing majesty?
Mercy, dear Saviour: Thy judgment-seat
We dare not, Lord, entreat;
We are condemn'd already there.
Mercy: vouchsafe one look
Of life. Lord, we can read Thy saving Jesus here,
And in His Name our own Salvation see.
Lord, set us free;
The book of sin
Is cross'd within;
Our debts are paid by Thee.
Mercy.[1]

[1] The subject is dwelt upon at length in Taylor's trinity of sermons for Advent Sunday—"Doomsday Book; or Christ's Advent to Judgment" (on 2 Cor. v. 10)—in which he quotes the verse—

"Dies Iræ, Dies illa
Solvet se'clum in favilla;
Teste David, cum Sibylla,"

as well as the Sibyl's verses here referred to—

"O, lignum felix, in quo Deus ipse pependit;
Nec te terra capit, sed cœli tecta videbis,
Cum renovata Dei facies ignita micabit".

It may be mentioned that the hymns of the Mediæval Church

The harmless little *Golden Grove* got its author into trouble through some unguarded remarks in the preface. Having described the blessings of a settled religion and regular liturgical services, such as the Church had formerly enjoyed, he goes on to lament the altered state of things under the Protectorate and Directory :—

"But now, instead of this excellency of condition and constitution of religion, the people are fallen under the harrows and saws of impertinent and ignorant preachers, who think all religion is a sermon, and all sermons ought to be libels against truth and old governors; and expound chapters that the meaning may never be understood; and pray that they may be thought able

were great favourites with Sir Walter Scott. In a letter to the Rev. George Crabbe, written in 1812, he says :—

"I think those hymns which do not immediately recall the warm and exalted language of the Bible are apt to be, however elegant, rather cold and flat for the purposes of devotion. You will readily believe that I do not approve of the vague and indiscriminate Scripture language which the fanatics of old and the modern Methodists have adopted, but merely that solemnity and peculiarity of distinction, which at once puts the reader and hearer upon his guard as to the purpose of the poetry. To my Gothic ear, indeed, the *Stabat Mater*, the *Dies Iræ*, and some of the other hymns of the Catholic Church, are more solemn and affecting than the fine classical poetry of Buchanan: the one has the gloomy dignity of a Gothic church and reminds us instantly of the worship to which it is dedicated, the other is more like a Pagan temple, recalling to our memory the classical and fabulous deities."

See the correspondence quoted in Mr. Lockhart's *Memoirs*. Sir Walter's version of the *Dies Iræ*—"That day of wrath, that dreadful day," is well known. The best and most literal translation we have is that by the Rev. W. J. Irons, D.D., altered, but not improved, in the "Ancient and Modern" collection.

Readers will remember the effect with which Goethe introduces a portion of this hymn into his *Faust*.

to talk, but not to hold their peace, they casting not to obtain anything but wealth and victory, power and plunder. And the people have reaped the fruits apt to grow upon such crabstocks: they grow idle and false, hypocrites and careless; they deny themselves nothing that is pleasant, they despise religion, forget government, and some men never think of heaven, and they that do, think to go thither in such paths which all the ages of the Church did give men warning of, lest they should that way go to the devil."

Such an unqualified statement of the case could not but be displeasing to the dominant party. In a subsequent paragraph our author is indiscreet enough to level a shaft at the Lord Protector himself:—

"They that hate Bishops have destroyed monarchy; and they that would erect an ecclesiastical monarchy must consequently subject the temporal to it. And both one and the other would be supreme in consciences; and they that govern there, with an opinion that in all things they ought to be attended to, will let their Prince govern others, so long as he will be ruled by them."

The result was an imprisonment in Chepstow Castle, where Taylor acknowledges he was leniently treated, and from which he was soon released.

In 1658, while the Book of Common Prayer was under proscription, he compiled and published a *Collection of Offices* as a substitute for it, for which purpose it was well adapted (though, as Bishop Heber observes, "it is no disparagement to say it falls extremely short of the original"), and might have eluded

the Puritan critics but for the frontispiece. Jeremy Taylor had unfortunately prefixed to it a portrait of our Lord in the attitude of prayer, which was regarded as a transgression of the Second Commandment, and for which he had to suffer a second imprisonment—this time in the Tower of London.

CHAPTER XI.

THE *DUCTOR DUBITANTIUM.*

In 1660 Jeremy Taylor published his *Ductor Dubitantium*, with a dedication to the restored monarch. The "Epistle Dedicatory" was then a much more important affair than it is now that an author can get at his public without the intervention of a noble or royal patron; and, as I have before remarked, the dedications of the period are often amusing combinations of flattery and self-abasement. Our author is not quite free from these characteristics. His dedications are always studiously polite and deferential, and he always speaks of himself with humility: but he is never servile, and never forgets the dignity of his priestly office or of his own person. The dedication in this case is a mixture of delicate compliment to his Majesty and modest estimate of the work, whose two volumes are compared to the widow's mites. The author trusts that as they are "all he has" they will be an equally acceptable offering. He refers to the Restoration as the work of God, who, he says, "hath sent your Majesty amongst us that we may feel the pleasures of obedience, and reap the fruits of that government which God loves and uses, which He hath constituted and adorned, which He hath restored to us by a con-

gregation of miracles, by the work of His hand and the light of His countenance, by changing the hearts of men, and scattering the people that delight in war".[1]

The *Ductor Dubitantium* is a system of casuistry on Anglican lines, as distinguished from the writings of the foreign theologians to whom recourse had hitherto to be made, in the absence of any authoritative English works on the subject. As the author observes:—

"For any public provisions of books of casuistical

[1] It will be noticed that our author lays more stress on the Divine power here than on its royal instrument. Bacon, on the other hand, almost endows James I. with the Divine attributes, as the following extract, which I am tempted to add to that already given, will show:—

"In bearing your Majesty in mind, as is frequently my custom and duty, I have been often struck with admiration, apart from your other gifts of virtue and fortune, at the surprising development of that part of your nature which philosophers call intellectual. The deep and broad capacity of your mind, the grasp of your memory, the quickness of your apprehension, the penetration of your judgment, your lucid method of arrangement and easy facility of speech:—at such extraordinary endowments I am forcibly reminded of the saying of Plato, that 'all science is but remembrance,' and that the human mind is originally imbued with all knowledge; that which she seems adventitiously to acquire in life being nothing more than a return to her first conceptions, which had been overlaid by the grossness of the body. In no person so much as your Majesty does this opinion appear more fully confirmed, your soul being apt to kindle at the intrusion of the slightest object; and even at the spark of a thought foreign to the purpose to burst into flame. As the Scripture says of the wisest king, 'That his heart was as the sands of the sea,' which, though one of the largest bodies, contains the finest and smallest particles of matter. In like manner God has endowed your Majesty with a mind," etc.—*Advancement of Learning*, Book I.

theology, we were almost wholly unprovided, and, like the Children of Israel in the days of Saul and Jonathan, we were forced to go down to the forges of the Philistines to sharpen every man his share and his coulter, his axe and his mattock. We had swords and spears of our own, enough for defence, and more than enough for disputation; but in this more necessary part of the conduct of consciences, we did receive our answers from abroad, till we found that our old needs were sometimes very ill supplied, and new necessities did every day arise."

In attributing this void in our theological literature to the "neglect of receiving private confessions," Jeremy Taylor strikes at the root of the matter. Although auricular confession was still occasionally practised, and had the sanction, not to say the positive encouragement, of the Book of Common Prayer, it had fallen into disuse as regards the mass of English Churchmen. This was one of the consequences of the Reformation movement, which, in exposing the abuses that had grown round a regular and compulsory system, had brought it into a disfavour of which the average Christian was only too glad to avail himself, aided by the natural repugnance to self-humiliation felt always by most men, and by all men sometimes. The reaction against the doctrine and practice of the Church in this matter had gained considerable force during the Puritan ascendency: and the result was a manifest incompetence on the part of the clergy for a task which they were seldom called upon to perform, for which there was no special training, and no sort of

instruction, unless drawn from the foreign sources to which our author refers. Jeremy Taylor had all along been impressed with the advantages of the ancient practice, as is evident from the frequent allusions to it in his writings; and his view of its importance was strengthened by his personal experience as a confessor and spiritual guide.

In addition to such general questions as must always occur to a sensitive conscience, the civil and religious circumstances of the time had raised many other "cases of conscience" for solution, *e.g.*, those springing out of the respective claims of the King and Church on allegiance; the relative authority of Church and State; whether it were lawful for subjects to take up arms against the supreme power, irrespective of its heredity or Divine commission; whether, and under what circumstances, prevarication or even positive falsehood were permissible in a time of warfare; the respective claims of Scripture and tradition on obedience, etc.[1]

[1] "There were, probably, more genuine and conscientious scruples at that time busy in the public mind than are likely to occur at present. The religious ferment, and the spirit of inquiry which it excited, which accompanied the reformation of religion, had been kept up by the Puritans, and after them by the Independents, with unfailing force and activity: and though the Reformation in England had been conducted on wiser and more moderate principles, and had, in fact, overlooked all trifles in order to make the better clearance of essential abuses; yet had the minds of men been drawn by the weakness of some, and the mischievous arts of others, to trifles and external circumstances, in a degree of which our present religious divisions afford us no conception. There are few even of the dissenting divines who now preach against, there are fewer still who really care for, the peculiarities of the Established Church in its habits and ceremonies. Its liturgy is praised almost by all. Yet not avowed dissenters only, but no small party of those who had been episco-

The enormous number of cases raised, discussed and settled in the *Ductor Dubitantium* may roughly be divided into two classes, *viz.*, those relating to morality or internal religion, and those relating to ceremonial or external religion. Some of them may strike us at first sight as not likely to have arisen outside the casuistical mind of the author, who has imagined and proposed them for the sake of an interesting discussion, and the display of his own ingenuity. A closer inspection, however, and a deeper insight into the phenomena of conscience, may lead us to the different conclusion that the questions had actually been propounded to him for solution; that they are at least such as a conscientious person may have had his doubts about.

In dealing with them, there is an important dif-

pally ordained, and appointed to offices within the limits of the establishment, were, in the days of Charles the First, conscientiously miserable at the thought of standing in a surplice, or saying any prayer but of their own composing. Many thousand good and pious men, and probably a still greater number of women, were distressed between the fear of schism and the crime of attending in a place of worship where even the minutest particular was not warranted by some explicit text of Scripture.

"The wickedness of mince-pies and plum-porridge, and the question how far these abominations might be winked at, when believers were unequally yoked with a prelatist, agitated many well-meaning minds; while there were others, of a contrary faction, who looked with horror on the marriage of second cousins, and were seriously troubled if, during the forty days, any flesh meat was seen in their houses. The law of Moses; the question of how far it was repealed or how far it still subsisted in the particulars of blood, perhaps of pork, and certainly of a Sabbatical rest on the Lord's Day, was also a frequent cause of secret distress or domestic litigation; while on the other hand, individuals were not wanting who, despising all ordinances, exclaimed against their kindred and neighbours as legalists and foolish Galatians."—Heber's *Life of Jeremy Taylor.*

ference between Taylor's method and that of the foreign casuists; which is that, whereas they had usually confined themselves to the examination of isolated points, each of which was weighed and decided on its own merits, he attempts to refer all such questions to general principles, more or less applicable to every case of the same nature—a method which has the advantage of enabling the questioner to settle them for himself where a director is not to be had; and, generally, of liberating the individual conscience from that minute scrupulosity which is scarcely distinguishable from disease, and goes to destroy the happiness and independence of him who is unfortunate enough to be troubled by it. It might be urged that the method of the older theologians was a consequence of their exaggerated view of the confessional, resort to which would be rendered unnecessary if people were made able to settle their doubts for themselves without reference to an expert. In answer to this objection the whole system may be compared with the English law, which appears to rest less on any general principles than to consist of an heterogeneous collection of separate cases, or precedents, the accumulation of centuries, which have at length become so numerous, and present so much variety in their details, and the subsidiary questions involved, as to render classification almost impossible.

It was to this work of classification that Taylor addressed himself by taking certain representative cases and solving them on principles which included many others. The difficulty of the task may be seen

from the number of separate instances which our author finds it necessary to discuss; the analysis and arrangement of which would have deterred any less ardent casuist. There can be no doubt that his method is the true one; and, whatever the theoretical distinction between it and that which it was designed to supersede, it is the method followed in practice by most experienced directors, as the only one likely to be of permanent use to a scrupulous conscience, which, unless furnished with some simple principles for general application, would find an arbiter necessary for every trifling difficulty as it occurred, and be rendered more scrupulous than ever by indulging its weakness—a result which would go to make the work of the referee himself an intolerable burden. It is probable that one of the author's objects was to reduce the ultra-Protestant objections to the liturgy and ceremonial of the Anglican Church, by drawing a distinction between its *modus operandi* and that of its Roman opponents, as well as to provide an antidote to that perversion of casuistry which had brought an innocent science into discredit. In this latter respect he was but anticipating the work of Pascal. But however necessary his work, and meritorious its object, the sequel shows that neither the clergy nor the public were alive to its value. It would be no exaggeration to say that it was the least appreciated of Jeremy Taylor's writings. It illustrates once more, what has been illustrated over and over again in the history of literature, that an author is not the best judge of his own work, or the best able to gauge the

public estimate of it. Taylor judged the *Ductor* by his own interest in it and the labour it had cost him. He based his reputation upon it, as representing the fruits of his studies and the toil of many years. The public tested it by their own requirements. As far as they were concerned, it dealt with an obsolete and theoretical subject far removed from their immediate and practical interests, even where there was no antecedent aversion to it, as was largely the case.

And the time chosen was unfavourable to publication. The excitement of the Restoration and the exuberant reaction against the severities of the interregnum, the disturbance of feeling in the general rejoicing—real or assumed—the hopes and fears which the occasion evoked, the lax morality which followed the unnatural strictness of the Puritan dominion, the superficial religion (not to put it more strongly) of the Monarch and his Court, from which the country took its tone, were all against the careful consideration of theological questions and the inward and spiritual religion to which self-examination is a necessity. The result was that the book which Jeremy Taylor regarded as his *Magnum Opus* fell exceedingly flat on its generation; and, although nothing equal to it in scope and importance has since appeared on the particular subject, it now lies undisturbed in the dusty cemeteries of deceased literature—unfortunately without much hope of a resurrection. In this matter it shares the fate of many a work which its author thought a masterpiece, while the chance effusion of a moment, the birth of some tragic or joyous occasion, thrown off red-hot,

as it were, under a sudden inspiration, and perhaps thrown away by him who wrote it, may live on for centuries. Genius is not always an infinite capacity for taking pains. But to resume: Jeremy Taylor has not escaped criticism as lending the weight of his sanction to that refinement of casuistry of which the Jesuits, rightly or wrongly, have been accused, and as justifying the commission of evil that good may result, or with a public object to which the "compunctious visitings of nature" in the private conscience should yield, that falsehood or deception is permissible under certain circumstances, etc. And Cardinal Newman was able to quote him against Charles Kingsley as an English instance of that sort of casuistry which the dilemmas of life are apt to involve, but which the Anglican had taken for granted as the peculiar iniquity of foreigners and Romanists.[1] The fact is that questions of this kind are just such as would have arisen during the troublous time of the Civil War and the concomitant religious disturbances: and they are apt to occur at any time to any one engaged in active life in the world, besides the more delicate problems which present themselves to sensitive consciences, and often give considerable uneasiness to religious people.[2]

[1] See the first edition of the *Apologia*.

[2] See the chapter on "Scruples" in Dr. Faber's *Growth in Holiness*.

As regards casuistry in general see De Quincey's essay on the subject (vol. viii., ed. Masson). The following interesting note is appended by him to the second of his *Letters to a Young Man*:—

"Our fashionable moral practitioner for this generation, Dr. Paley, who prescribes for the consciences of both universities,

A book of casuistry, to be of any use at all, must take account of such cases; and however offensive the word may be under the meaning it has acquired as a system for explaining away the plain dictates of conscience, there can be no doubt that most people have a system of their own for private application, unless the conscience is in abeyance or so highly trained as to render it unnecessary.

Though some of Jeremy Taylor's positions are unquestionably dangerous, and capable of perversion, he cannot be charged with that abuse of casuistry

and, indeed, of most respectable householders, has introduced a good deal of casuistry into his work, though not under that name. In England there is an aversion to the mere name, founded partly on this—that casuistry has been most cultivated by Roman Catholic divines, and too much with a view to an indulgent and dispensing morality; and partly on the excessive subdivision and hair-splitting of cases, which tends to the infinite injury of morals, by perplexing and tampering with the conscience, and by presuming morality to be above the powers of any but the subtlest minds. All this, however, is but the abuse of casuistry; and without casuistry of some sort or other no practical decision could be made in the accidents of daily life. Of this, on a fitter occasion, I could give a cumulative proof. Meantime let it suffice to observe that law, which is the most practical of all things, is a perpetual casuistry; in which an immemorial usage, a former decision of the court, or positive statute, furnishes the major proposition, and the judgment of the jury, enlightened by the knowledge of the bench, furnishes the minor or casuistical proposition."—*Works*, vol. x., ed. Masson.

There is an interesting holograph letter from Jeremy Taylor, referring to the *Ductor Dubitantium*, in the British Museum. It is addressed to Christopher Hatton, Lord Hatton, and dated from Dublin, 23rd November, 1661:—

"Will send over in the spring the tracts D(uctor) D(ubitantium), etc.; the King has forgiven the Irish clergy their first fruits and twentieths, and sends over a lieutenant who will excel the Earl of Strafford in his kindness to the Church."—Add. MS. 29584, f. 6.

of which he accuses those foreign theologians who had brought the system into discredit, and whose perversions he attempted to correct. The *Ductor* is intended for experts who have to deal with sinners as well as saints, and occasionally involves the consideration of problems about which a healthy person need not concern himself. But, even if it were read generally, and by the uninitiated for whom it is not designed, it would suggest nothing to a morbid appetite or evil disposition, a danger which is excluded both by the nature of the work as a whole, and by the guarded language of its paragraphs.

CHAPTER XII.

The *Worthy Communicant*—Jeremy Taylor is made a Bishop—Reasons suggested for the Appointment—Its Difficulties—The Savoy Conference and Final Settlement of the Prayer-book—Death of Jeremy Taylor while engaged on his *Discourse on the Beatitudes*—Obligations of the Church of England to him.

WITHIN two months of the publication of the *Ductor Dubitantium*, Jeremy Taylor brought out a work of a totally different character in the *Worthy Communicant*. In one sense this book is the complement to his *Holy Living* and *Dying* in that the three together form a complete *Vade Mecum* of Christian instruction and devotion. It may also be regarded as a supplement to his earlier work on the *Real Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament*, of whose teaching it is the outcome and practical application. On the doctrinal point Taylor is at one with the English Church as she expresses herself in the Catechism, *viz.*, that "the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper," and in the twenty-eighth article, that "the Body of Christ is given, taken and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner". In other words, he holds the doctrine of what is called the "Real Presence," as distinguished from the

scholastic doctrine of Transubstantiation, the Lutheran of Consubstantiation, and the "Real Absence" of the advanced Reformers, who reduced the Sacrament to a commemorative act, whose virtue depended entirely on the faith and moral condition of the recipient, and was destitute of any objective value in itself.

The teaching of the Anglican Church in this matter, as in others where she holds "the mean between two extremes," is thought to present a logical difficulty which is avoided in the apparently more simple and intelligible statements of the schools between which she stands. But her ablest exponents from Hooker to Dr. Pusey have taken the same view of the Sacrament, and have vindicated it wherever their writings have brought them into contact with the subject, or in treatises devoted exclusively to it. The following extract will show Jeremy Taylor's opinion and some of the authorities on which it rested :—

"It was happy with Christendom, when she, in this article, retained the same simplicity which she always was bound to do in her manners and intercourse ; that is, to believe the thing heartily, and not to inquire curiously; and there was peace in this article for almost a thousand years together; and yet that transubstantiation was not determined, I hope to make very evident: 'In synaxi transubstantionem serò definivit ecclesia: diù satis erat credere, sive sub pane consecrato, sive quocunquo modo adesse verum Corpus Christi;' so said the great Erasmus: 'It was late before the Church defined transubstantiation, for a long time together it did suffice to believe that the true

Body of Christ was present, whether under the consecrated bread or any other way': so the thing was believed, the manner was not stood upon. And it is a famous saying of Durandus: 'Verbum audimus, motum sentimus, modum nescimus, præsentiam credimus'—'We hear the word, we perceive the motion, we know not the manner, but we believe the presence': and Ferus, of whom Sixtus Senensis affirms that he was 'vir nobiliter doctus, pius et eruditus,' hath these words: 'Cum certum sit ibi esse Corpus Christi, quid opus est disputare, num panis substantia maneat, vel non?'—'When it is certain that Christ's body is there, what need we dispute whether the substance of bread remain or no?' And therefore Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of Duresme, would have every one left to his conjecture concerning the manner: 'De modo quo id fieret, satius erat curiosum quemque relinquere suæ conjecturæ, sicut liberum fuit ante Concilium Lateranum'—'Before the Lateran Council, it was free for every one to opine as they please, and it were better it were so now'. But St. Cyril would not allow so much liberty; not that he would have the manner determined, but not so much as thought upon. 'Firmam fidem mysteriis adhibentes, nunquam in tam sublimibus rebus, illud *quomodo*, aut cogitemus aut proferamus.'

"For if we go about to think it or understand it, we lose our labour. 'Quomodo enim id fiat, ne in mente intelligere, nec linguâ dicere possumus, sed silentio et firmâ fide id suscipimus.'—'We can perceive the thing by faith, but cannot express it in words, nor understand it with our mind,' said St. Bernard.

"'Oportet igitur (it is at last, after the steps of the former progress, come to be a duty), nos in sumptionibus divinorum mysteriorum, indubitatam retinere fidem, et non quærere quo pacto.'

"The sum is this: The manner was defined but very lately; there is no need at all to dispute it; no advantage by it; and therefore it were better if it were left at liberty to every man to think as he pleases, for so it was in the Church for above a thousand years together; and yet it were better men would not at all trouble themselves concerning it; for it is a thing impossible to be understood; and therefore it is not fit to be inquired after."—*Real Presence.*

It will be observed throughout this work that although the doctrine of a real objective Presence is maintained, there is no attempt to explain the mode of its occurrence, which is left in the sacred ambiguity of a Divine mystery, on the principle expressed by Hooker that "curious and intricate speculations do hinder, they abate, they quench such inflamed motions of delight and joy as Divine graces use to raise when extraordinarily they are present".

The subject reappears in the same form in the *Worthy Communicant*, where our author laments that the doctrine is "made intricate by explications, and difficult by the aperture and dissolution of distinctions"; and he goes on to illustrate, by one of his most felicitous images, the different aspects which the same truth may assume as it is viewed from various points, and under the colouring of individual states of mind:—

"So we sometimes espy a bright cloud formed into an irregular figure; which, if it is observed by unskilful and fantastic travellers, looks like a centaur to some, and as a castle to others; some tell that they saw an army with banners, and it signifies war; but another, wiser than his fellows, says it looks like a flock of sheep, and foretells plenty; and all the while it is nothing but a shining cloud, by its own mobility and the activity of a wind cast into a contingent and artificial shape; so it is in this great mystery of our religion, in which some espy strange things which God intended not; and others see not what God has plainly told." [1]

Not to weary the reader with authorities it will be sufficient in conclusion to refer to the following statement by a well-known writer on the Anglo-Catholic

[1] The illustration is one which would naturally occur to a poetical observer of nature like Jeremy Taylor, and may be strictly original; but it is not improbable that the first suggestion may have come to him through his classical reading, as there is a passage in Aristophanes' comedy of the "Clouds" where Socrates inquires of Strepsiades whether he had ever seen a cloud shaped like a centaur or a leopard: and the magnificent passage in the first Georgic describing the appearances in the sky, supposed to betoken or accompany great events on earth, is still fuller of suggestion. Porson refers to the well-known interlude in *Hamlet* as containing a parallel, though, as Bacon says, it seems "a light thing to be vouched in so serious a matter":—

"*Hamlet.* Do you see yonder cloud that's almost in shape of a camel?

"*Polonius.* By the mass, and 'tis like a camel, indeed.

"*Hamlet.* Methinks it is like a weasel.

"*Polonius.* It is backed like a weasel.

"*Hamlet.* Or like a whale?

"*Polonius.* Very like a whale."—Act iii.

doctrine of the Eucharist, as containing a substantial account of the position of Jeremy Taylor and of the Anglican Church, as expressed in her authorised formularies.[1]

On the Restoration Taylor was rewarded for his services to the Church, and his devotion to the royal cause, by the Bishopric of Down and Connor, to which Dromore was shortly afterwards added, in "further recognition of his merits," and on account of its contiguity to the original See. The lectureship which he had previously held at Lisburn may have been thought some sort of qualification for an Irish appointment; though why one so humble and so remote, and ap-

[1] "The Catholic and Apostolic Church has always avoided any attempt to determine too minutely the mode of the true Presence in the Holy Eucharist. Guided by Scripture, she establishes only those truths which Scripture reveals, and leaves the subject in that mystery, with which God for His wise purposes has invested it. Her doctrine concerning the true Presence appears to be limited to the following points:—

"Taking as her immovable foundation the words of Jesus Christ: 'This is My Body . . . this is My Blood, of the new Covenant,' and 'Whoso eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood hath eternal life,' she believes, that the Body or Flesh, and the Blood of Jesus Christ, the Creator and Redeemer of the world, both God and man, united indivisibly in one Person, are verily and indeed given to, taken, eaten, and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper, under the outward sign or form of Bread and Wine, which is, on this account, the 'partaking or communion of the Body and Blood of Christ'. She believes that the Eucharist is not the sign of an *absent* body, and that those who partake of it receive not merely the figure, or shadow, or sign of Christ's Body, but the reality itself. And as Christ's divine and human natures are inseparably united, so she believes that we receive in the Eucharist, not only the Flesh and Blood of Christ, but Christ Himself, both God and man."—Palmer's *Treatise on the Church.*

parently so little suited for the exercise of his special talents, should have been selected for him, is one of those mysteries which ecclesiastical appointments so often present to the uninitiated. Conjecture has been busy about it, as an interesting speculation, that while the most lucrative offices in England were bestowed on men infinitely beneath him in scholarship, and the strong claims of merit and suffering, his light should have been hidden in a place so distant from the capital and the seats of learning. The eccentricity of his Majesty's character, and his general want of discrimination in reward and punishment, may in itself be sufficient to account for it.

It has also been suggested that Taylor's well-known independence of mind and courage in rebuke, which were extremely useful when directed against the royal enemies, might be a source of danger to his benefactors when there were no enemies to exercise those qualities upon—and, further, that the Protestant element in Taylor's composite theology may have presented a "case of conscience" to a monarch secretly attached to the Roman Church, which the *Ductor Dubitantium* was unable to solve. It is evident, from the allusions in his correspondence, that the Bishop was not happy in his diocese, which, from some unsuitability in the climate, and the isolation from literature and society, was slowly killing him. But the ways of Providence are very mysterious and often provide a recompense for the errors of its human instruments. Independently of the royal motive and its effect on the Bishop, it is possible that the uncongenial appointment may

have been beneficial to the Church at large, and especially to the Church in Ireland, where Taylor's wise judgment and learning, not to say his "excellent casuistry," would enable him to hold the balance evenly between the Romanism and Protestantism which were in such close quarters, and where their antagonism was more marked than perhaps in any other part of Europe—partly in consequence of Oliver Cromwell's drastic remedies for Irish disaffection.

On the other hand, the position was one of much greater difficulty to the new Bishop than it would have been to a narrower man, of less scrupulous conscience, with more distinct sympathies on one side or the other. Though Taylor had repeatedly written against what he considered erroneous doctrine and practice in the Roman Church, he was too good a theologian to enter upon such a wholesale and indiscriminate abuse of her system as would gain the approval of the ultra-Protestant clergy in his diocese. Most of his difficulties, in fact, arose from the fact that his subordinates, introduced during the Protectorate, and under Puritan influence, were as a rule of a totally different type of Churchmanship to himself. It was almost impossible for him to bring them up to his level of teaching and ritual, though his breadth of mind and affectionate disposition were not without weight in their mutual counsels. He would have been almost more than human, however, if he had escaped the charge of magnifying his office, of straining his authority and of departing from the generous principles laid down in his *Liberty of Prophesying*. As

regards that book it is only fair to remember the distinction between toleration for those without, and the indulgence of laxity within, any given institution. While he might fairly argue against inflicting a Church discipline on Anabaptists, or an Anabaptist discipline on Churchmen, it would be absurd to expect him to tolerate in the restored Church the sort of teaching inculcated under the Directory. His efforts in restraining the liberties which his clergy were inclined to take with the liturgy and ceremonial of the Church would make him appear intolerant to those who differed from him; but there is no evidence of an undue exercise of authority, much less of "persecution," in his dealings with his subordinates, in spite of many trials to his forbearance.

Making every allowance for the partiality of friendship, and the exaggeration of a funeral discourse, there is no reason to doubt the general truth of Bishop Rust's account of the principles on which Bishop Taylor governed his diocese:—

"He was one of the brave philosophers that Laertius speaks of, that did not addict themselves to any particular sect, but ingeniously sought for Truth among all the wrangling schools, and they found her miserably torn and rent to pieces, and parcelled into rags by the several contending parties, and so disfigured and misshapen, that it was hard to know her; but they made a shift to gather up her scattered limbs, which, as soon as they came together, by a strange sympathy and connaturalness, presently united into a lovely and beautiful body. This was the spirit of this great man;

he weighed men's reasons, and not their names, and was not scared with the ugly vizars men usually put upon persons they hate, and opinions they dislike, nor affrighted with the anathemas and execrations of an infallible chair, which he looked upon only as bugbears to terrify weak and childish minds. He considered that it is not likely any one party should wholly engross Truth to themselves; that obedience is the only way to true knowledge; that God always and only teaches docile and ingenuous minds, that are willing to hear, and ready to obey, according to their light; but it is impossible a pure, humble, resigned, God-like soul should be kept out of Heaven, whatever mistakes it might be subject to in this state of mortality, that the design of Heaven is not to fill men's heads, and feed their curiosities, but to better their hearts, and mend their lives. Such considerations as these made him impartial in his Disquisitions, and give a due allowance to the reasons of his adversary, and contend for Truth, and not for Victory."[1]

[1] *Sermon preached at the obsequies of Bishop Jeremy Taylor*, by Bishop Rust, his successor at Dromore. There is an interesting resemblance between this passage and the opening of Jeremy Taylor's own sermon (on St. John vii. 17) called *Via Intelligentiæ, viz.:* "The ancients, in their mythological learning, tell us, that when Jupiter espied the men of the world striving for Truth, and pulling her in pieces to secure her to themselves, he sent Mercury down amongst them; and he, with his usual arts, dressed Error up in the imagery of Truth, and thrust her into the crowd, and so left them to contend still; and though then, by contention, men were sure to get but little truth, yet they were as earnest as ever, and lost peace too, in their importune contentions for the very image of truth. And this, indeed, is no wonder; but when truth and peace are brought into the world together, and bound up in the same

In the year following Bishop Taylor's appointment a final attempt was made at the Savoy Conference to reconcile the Presbyterians to the Church of England. It was not successful, as a reconciliation could only have been brought about at the expense of principles which the English Church could not have relinquished without abandoning her historic position and connection with the Church Universal; and the Presbyterians were unwilling to accept the compromise that was proposed to them in externals. The Prayer-book was then practically put into its present shape, the alterations that have since been made being very few and unimportant. We can well imagine the satisfaction of men like Jeremy Taylor at seeing their beloved liturgy thus stereotyped and victorious after its ignominious suppression. On the 13th of August, 1667, in his fifty-fifth year, the man who had done so much on its behalf died at Lisburn and was buried in Dromore Cathedral, which he had previously restored and whose chancel he had rebuilt at his own expense. His last words were "Bury me at Dromore". Like many another literary man, he was engaged in a work during his last hours which he was destined never to finish. It was a *Discourse on the Beatitudes*, than which a more fitting subject cannot be imagined for the mind to rest upon after a troubled life in the world and in anticipation of that eternal kingdom

bundle of life; when we are taught a religion by the Prince of peace, who is the truth itself; to see men contending for this truth, to the breach of that peace; and when men fall out, to see that they should make Christianity their theme, that is one of the greatest wonders in the world."

where the full meaning of the Beatitudes shall be realised in the presence of Him who uttered them. "When a good man dies, one that hath lived innocently, or made joy in heaven at his timely and effective repentance, and in whose behalf the Holy Jesus hath interceded prosperously, and for whose interest the Spirit makes interpolations with groans and sighs unutterable, and in whose defence the angels drive away the devils on his death-bed, because his sins are pardoned, and because he resisted the devil in his life-time and fought successfully, and persevered unto the end —then the joy breaks forth through the cloud of sickness, and the conscience stands upright, and confesses the glories of God, and owns so much integrity that it can hope for pardon, and obtain it too; then the sorrows of the sickness, and the flames of the fever, or the faintness of the consumption, do but untie the soul from its chain, and let it go forth, first into liberty and then to glory."[1]

The saintly Bishop was buried in the place of saints under the altar in his cathedral at Dromore. Up till 1827 the celebrated inscription, "*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice*," might have been applied to him; and a tradition had even got abroad that his bones, and those of his successor, George Rust, had been disturbed to make room for another interment. But the investigations of Dr. Mant have thrown doubt on the story, and when in the early part of last century the vault was opened, a leaden coffin was revealed with the initials J. T. on the lid, which sufficiently establish

[1] *Holy Dying*, chap. ii., sect. 4.

its identity. The absence of anything more conspicuous may possibly be accounted for as a deference to the deceased's own wishes:—

"Nor do I desire a stately sepulchre, a beautiful urn, or that my name and actions should be engraven in marble."—*Contemplations of the State of Man.*

"I desire to die a dry death, but am not very desirous to have a dry funeral: some flowers sprinkled upon my grave would do well and comely; and a soft shower to turn those flowers into a springing memory or a fair rehearsal, that I may not go forth of my doors as my servants carry the entrails of beasts."—*Holy Dying.*

In 1827 Bishop Mant and his clergy felt it their duty so far to redeem an obligation which had weighed on their predecessors as to erect a white marble tablet in the Cathedral at Lisburn in the somewhat questionable taste of that date, with "an elegant and appropriate epitaph" recording the virtues and genius of the departed; and in 1866 a brass to his memory was fixed in the choir of Dromore Cathedral, where an episcopal throne has since been set up as a memorial. But the best monument to Jeremy Taylor is that erected by himself in his works, which have long since established their position among the classics of our language, and some of them will in all probability last as long as the language itself, to the delight of the poet, the strength of the weak, the comfort of the afflicted, and the guidance of the wanderer through the *Via Dolorosa* of this world.[1]

[1] It may be useful to mention that the parish church of Lisburn is the Cathedral of Down, Connor and Dromore, and it is in this

In a literary sense his most obvious characteristic is that abundant and luxurious poetry which has led some to call him the Homer or Shakespeare of our theology, and drawn from his most appreciative critic the famous eulogy: "The most eloquent of our divines: had I said of men, Cicero would forgive me, and Demosthenes nod assent". But in our admiration of his poetical gifts, and masterly power of expressing them, we must not forget the more important objects to which they were subordinated, *viz.:* to raise the religious life, and aid the devotion, of individual members of the Church of England; and to defend the liturgy, doctrine and ritual of that Church against her adversaries—and that at a critical period when her very existence seemed at stake—a service which we may be tempted to forget in more peaceful times.

Some years ago I had the good fortune to take part in the Dedication Festival at one of those representative Churches which had attained some prominence through the practical application of Jeremy Taylor's teaching, and the teaching of his school, revived and emphasised, perhaps modified, by the Oxford movement.

The church was crowded with worshippers, the air was redolent with the incense of flowers, the choir

building that the mural tablet above referred to was erected in 1827 by the bishop and clergy of the diocese, with an inscription by Mant. The Cathedral at Dromore having been enlarged in 1866, by the addition of an apse, the vault containing the remains of Jeremy Taylor is now in the body of the church. There is no monument to him at Dromore, but the existing Episcopal Chair was given (13th Oct., 1894) in memory of him.

was collected from Westminster Abbey and other places. But the feature of the evening was a sermon by the then celebrated Dr. Evans—in bodily presence insignificant, but in speech by no means contemptible—whose concluding words were something to this effect: "These are the days which Hooker, Andrewes, Laud and Jeremy Taylor would have loved to see; for now the doctrines which they believed and upheld may be fearlessly taught; now the ceremonial which is the necessary outcome and adjunct of those doctrines, but which they were not permitted to enjoy, may be fearlessly practised. Surely the lot is fallen unto us in a fair ground—yea, we have a goodly heritage."

It must be a matter of regret to all her true members that the Church of England has not set up any worthy memorial to her great champion.[1]

While meditating on his death I cannot help noticing a paragraph in his *Holy Dying* which has a remarkable parallel in Bacon's famous essay:—

"Take away but the pomps of death, the disguises and solemn bugbears, the tinsel, and the actings by candle-light, and proper and phantastic ceremonies, the minstrels and the noise-makers, the women and the weepers, the swoonings and the shriekings, the nurses and the physicians, the dark room and the ministers, the kindred and the watchers; and then to die is easy." —*Holy Dying*, chap. iii., sect. 7.

[1] To our shame be it said that the Nonconformist body nicknamed "Irvingites" have perpetuated his memory in a stained-glass window, containing his portrait, at their central place of worship in London, side by side with a similar window to the "Judicious" Hooker.

"Groans and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and Blacks and Obsequies, and the like, show Death terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of Death; and therefore Death is no such terrible enemy."—Bacon's Essay, *Of Death.*

CHAPTER XIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

THOSE who have had the patience to follow me through these pages, cannot do better than supplement them by a little further reading from some of the books mentioned in the Bibliography at the end of this volume. The first to claim attention, if indeed a previous acquaintance with them has not led this little essay to be taken up, will naturally be the works of Jeremy Taylor himself. If the student does not know them already, I should recommend him to start with the *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*, the *Golden Grove* (which contains the hymns), and one or two of the sermons, say the Funeral Sermon on the Countess of Carbery or that most poetical discourse on the *Marriage Ring*. These might be followed, or combined, with one of the biographies and a selection from the books recommended to the general reader. When he has got through these he will have no difficulty in pursuing the study in detail, if he wishes to do so, from the less accessible works included in the Bibliography for the guidance of serious students. He might also probably visit some of the London churches built or modified during the great movement of which Jeremy Taylor is perhaps the

best representative from the ecclesiastical point of view.

Notwithstanding the changes which the lapse of nearly three centuries has brought about, there is still much to be seen in those buildings to throw light on the Church services and ceremonial of Taylor's period, on which point the omissions and alterations in some places may be supplied from what is existing elsewhere, to complete the student's information. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries our Church architecture assumed and developed the classical character which it retained, with more or less modification, till the Catholic revival of the last century brought about a corresponding resuscitation of the earlier styles which the revivalists regarded as the proper concomitants of Catholic doctrine. But that there was no necessary connection between the two, and no principle involved in one style which might not be expressed in the other, is illustrated by the fact that the great Anglican divines of the period we have been considering, whom the Oxford writers were fond of quoting, were in the habit of worshipping in churches which were entirely classical, or into which classical elements had been introduced in obedience to the spirit of their age.

In no place out of Rome itself is the Renaissance influence more evident than in London, where the great fire of 1666 necessitated the rebuilding of the city and such of its churches as had escaped destruction. Some extremely fine specimens of the earlier styles have been preserved to us, such as St. Bar-

tholomew-the-Great, St. Ethelburga, Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, and St. Olave's, Hart Street, Crutched Friars, which only show the influence of the movement in details. But its full force is seen in the churches erected immediately after the fire, chiefly from the designs of Sir Christopher Wren and his pupils, which are in the style imported from Italy and bear the name of the movement that brought it forth. There is a sense in which this Renaissance architecture may be regarded as "Protestant," in that it indicates a freedom from the dominant influences of the Middle Ages, with which Gothic is popularly associated. It may also be regarded as "pagan," as perpetuating, in a debased form, the outward and visible sign of heathen worship. It was probably on both these grounds that the Catholic writers of the last century were led to abandon it for the earlier and specially Christian styles, which they regarded as equally free from the suggestions of heathendom and of the ultra-reformers. It need hardly be said that the early attempts at the restoration of a neglected art were attended with numerous mistakes, as exhibited in many new Gothic churches as well as in the interpolation of Gothic features into churches where they were utterly incongruous, and in the destruction of much harmless classical work, under mistaken notions of its significance. In short, the Gothic enthusiasts repeated the mistakes in one direction which were made in another direction by their ancestors of the Renaissance period. More recently things have righted themselves. Gothic art has been more

thoroughly studied, and the art of the Renaissance, the prejudice against which had been strengthened by the exaggerated and hideous forms it had assumed in the Georgian and early Victorian eras, has reasserted its innocence. Indeed it is actually preferred by certain modern Churchmen of unquestionable orthodoxy, as more correctly representing their ideal of a Christian temple and as lending itself more readily to the ceremonial of Christian worship, in their view, than the Gothic art which others oppose to it on precisely the same grounds.

Perhaps in no point is the doctrinal significance of the Renaissance more obvious than in the altar and its surroundings. In many of the churches the sanctuary is extremely small and merely separated from the nave by a low wooden railing, in place of the large chancel and rood-screen of the Middle Ages. The altar and the ceremonies performed thereat are thus rendered clearly visible, the architectural arrangements affording every facility for obedience to the rubric enjoining the bread to be broken "before the people". The altar itself is usually small and of low elevation—as indeed is the case with the pre-Reformation altars in England—and not infrequently of semi-pagan design,[1] backed by an elaborately carved wooden reredos, which occasionally terminates in a baldachino. In the panels of the reredos the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments were inserted "in the

[1] The interesting classical altar of Queen Mary's, preserved in Westminster Abbey by that catholic-minded man Dean Stanley, may be quoted as an example.

vulgar tongue" to further the object of the compilers of the Church Catechism and of the Injunctions of 1536 and 1538, who insist on those formulas as the foundation of a Christian education. It may be mentioned in passing that Bishop Goodrich, who is accredited with the compilation of the "Duty Towards God and our Neighbour," held the See of Ely from 1634 to 1654, and his brass in the Cathedral exhibits him in the full Eucharistic and Episcopal vestments. Where the Renaissance instruments have been left undisturbed the altar is provided with a cross and pair of candlesticks, which in some churches where they had disappeared have been replaced by modern copies. In Prynne's *Canterbury's Doom* we have an account, from a Puritan source, of the arrangement of Bishop Andrewes' Chapel, in which it is not likely the writer would have omitted anything open to objection from his point of view. In fact, the altar and its appurtenances are minutely described. But there is no allusion to the clerical dress, which we know from other sources did not usually include the Eucharistic vestments, then discontinued, except in remote and independent places, such as Durham, where the cope was not finally abandoned till 1759, and then on the somewhat frivolous pretext—on a par with Queen Elizabeth's recommendation of fish in Lent—that the vestment interfered with the periwig of him who wore it.

At his trial Archbishop Laud was charged, among other things, with using "Copes at Communions and Consecrations," to which he gave the obvious reply

that they had been in use ever since the Reformation, and were allowed, if not positively enjoined, by the Canons of the Church. From the scarcity of allusions to the subject in the charges against the prelates, we may assume that the vestment was a rarity and the accusations of Romanism chiefly rested on doctrinal points.

The "Geneva" gown (black), introduced by the Marian exiles on their return to England, had got to be the usual preaching dress; and there was no special objection to it for that purpose, even by the High Church clergy, although they disliked it as a substitute for the white surplice in divine service. Whatever their private aversion to it, they could hardly help its introduction by the lecturers, who were paid to preach and nothing more, and might remain in the vestry till it was time to ascend the pulpit. In their dress, as well as in the subject-matter of their discourses, they enjoyed the most complete independence. It need hardly be said that they were Puritans almost to a man and were engaged chiefly in towns where there was a strong Puritan element in the population, which meant most towns of importance during the Commonwealth and Puritan ascendency. It will be noticed in this connection that the portraits of Jeremy Taylor which have come down to us invariably represent him in the black and white clerical or the collegiate dress of the period, and usually with a skull-cap, but never in the objectionable vestments; and his stole, where introduced, is extremely broad.

The development of the sermon during the Renais-

sance led to a corresponding development of the pulpit, which grew from a simple desk to the masterpiece of elaborate carving in stone or woodwork, with a canopy or sounding-board, which we see in perfection in Germany and Belgium. Our own pulpits never attained the enormous size of those on the Continent, but exhibit some extremely good work, especially in the Jacobean specimens. They usually stand on the north side of the church—less frequently on the south—in juxtaposition to one of the pillars, and were never allowed to interfere with a view of the altar till the Evangelical Movement of the eighteenth century brought preaching into rivalry with the sacraments. The average length of the discourse is indicated by the hour-glass, the stand for which is still to be seen attached to some of the wooden pulpits of our period.[1]

The discovery, or earliest known practice, and development of oil-painting during the Renaissance period will explain its introduction into churches at that time, either for altar-pieces or general mural

[1] As regards the position of the pulpit, and the respective merits of the north and south sides, the following note from a late profound antiquary may be interesting, though his symbolism is specially applicable to Gothic buildings:—

"The north side has had, since the first period of Christianity, its particular meaning—the south the same. The north side was that of the evangelists, who gave the truth in plainness and simplicity—the south was that of the prophets, who disguised it in oriental figure and imagery. The women, who were especially commanded to cover themselves, and abstain from ornament, stood on the north side, hence called *muliebris;* while the men, to whom no such prohibition extended, stood on the south."—Professor Kreuser in the *Kölnisches Domblatt*, No. 92.

The reading of the epistle and gospel from the respective sides is also significant.

decoration. Although Englishmen were occasionally employed to paint such pictures, there was a decided preference for the work of Flemish and Italian artists. A great many of these pictures are still preserved, and owe their preservation to the lateness of their date or to their portability, which saved them from the fury of the iconoclasts. It is worth noticing, however, that the abhorrence of idolatry in England did not extend to paintings in the same degree as to carved figures; in which respect there is a curious resemblance between extreme eastern and extreme western thought on the subject. Most of the paintings in English churches are on Scripture subjects, *e.g.*, the Baptism of Our Lord, the Ascension or Last Supper, with occasional scenes from the Old Testament. Such extra-scriptural or classical subjects as one frequently sees elsewhere are seldom met with—an interesting illustration of the restraining influence of local predisposition on a universal movement. A strong line of demarcation was drawn here between the sacred and profane, which were not so clearly distinguished during the Renaissance in Italy, where they were blended in a very instructive manner, which may be regarded as a sign of a more Catholic, or a less Christian, spirit, according to the point of view from which it is considered.

From the fact that so much stained glass came to grief during the iconoclastic zeal of the Reformation, we may well suppose that pictures would have shared the same fate had they existed or been as immovable as the windows. But here again we have a curious distinction, difficult to analyse or satisfactorily account

for, between works of art, so similar in their objects and subject-matter, and both equally harmless or pernicious, from the religious point of view.

A great deal might be said about the Church music of the Renaissance. The effect of that prodigious action of moral and intellectual forces on music may briefly be stated as a new discovery; or the union of science and art, which were previously scarcely acquainted with each other, upon a common ground. It is this reconciliation which distinguishes the music of our period from the simple melody or plain song of the Mediæval Church. In this, as in other matters, our own artists owe a great deal of their inspiration to Italy, and perhaps still more to Germany. But the movement is illustrated in England by some great names, *e.g.*, Tallis, Byrd, Gibbons, Cooke, Humfrey, and especially Purcell, whose reverent and dignified compositions are due to their own original genius, and are thoroughly national in character. It was to the chants and anthems of such composers that the Churchmen of the Renaissance listened when the Prayer-book services were more or less of a novelty. The Church organs of England were once in high repute, but the Puritanism of the Commonwealth doomed many of them to destruction, and when they had to be replaced at the Restoration the scarcity of English builders led to the invitation of foreign builders to settle in this country, *e.g.*, Father Smith and Renatus Harris. The instruments of these makers were small in size and sweet in tone; but the mania for large organs, and the means for gratifying it, gradually led to the erection

of those enormous instruments which are still to be seen in many Renaissance churches, where sometimes the entire west gallery is occupied by them. It will, of course, be noticed that many of these large organs have been removed in recent years to the north or south side of the chancel. This is one of the minor and indirect results of the Oxford Movement, and was thought to be justified by the necessities of the choir, also frequently transferred to the east end as a more suitable place than the west gallery. In making these changes the architectural differences between Gothic and classical churches were disregarded, and one rule applied to both in spite of its incongruity. The consequence is that the transferred organ usually looks extremely uncomfortable in a place that was never intended for it, and I believe experts differ as to whether the choir and musical effect are any better for the change. Readers of Evelyn and Pepys will remember that the organ was supplemented by lutes, viols and other instruments, at such places as the Chapels Royal, where the luxury of an orchestra could be afforded. In village churches, where the organ was too expensive to be introduced, the accompaniment was supplied by a band of humbler style, which has unfortunately disappeared, instead of being improved, during the Catholic revival of the last century. During the reaction which followed, under Charles II., against the total exclusion of instrumental music by the Puritans, there was a disposition for light and frivolous pieces of an operatic character, more suitable for the theatre or concert-room than for a place of worship.

John Evelyn and other sober Churchmen objected; but these violations of decency were never carried to the lengths in England that they reached abroad.[1]

On the Restoration, the custom of setting up the Royal Arms in churches was resumed. It originated in the time of Henry VIII. as a protest against the papal supremacy, and in assertion of the Divine right of the sovereign as well as of the union of Church and State. At least one of these doctrines had sustained a considerable shock during the Interregnum, but the Churchmen of the Restoration were more than ever convinced of its orthodoxy, and thought it necessary to restore the Lion and Unicorn to their place of honour—sometimes in front of the west gallery, sometimes (though less frequently) above the altar itself.

Another little bit of secular grandeur, interesting

[1] "So long as musicians confined themselves to fragments of ecclesiastical melody, as canvases on which to embroider the flowers of their musical rhetoric, the Church made no complaint; although she had other grounds for dissatisfaction with their works. But from the very earliest periods of descant, ecclesiastical musicians had been in the habit of taking the secular melodies of the time and working them into their ecclesiastical compositions. It was as though in our day a musician were to compose a *Te Deum* or *Magnificat* of which one of the parts should consist of 'Gentle Troubadour,' 'The Power of Love,' or any other current tune that struck his fancy. But this is as nothing to what really happened. Not satisfied with the tunes, they transported words and all bodily into their works; and a hundred MSS. exist to show that while the soprano, alto and bass might be singing 'Ad Te levavi oculos meos,' or any other words of like character, the tenor, always the agent in this shameless violation of decency, might utter 'Belle dame me prie de chanter,' or perhaps something infinitely more impertinent."—Hullah's *Lectures on Modern Music*, Second Period, A.D. 1400-1600.

in its way, was the sword-rest still seen in certain Renaissance churches, a relic of the custom of wearing swords on occasions when full-dress was assumed. But it is now no more than an ornamental piece of iron-work, like the extinguishers on the railings of great houses or the hour-glass frames on the Jacobean pulpits.

From the scanty allusion to the externals of religious worship in Jeremy Taylor's writings, as well as from the spirituality of his character, we may infer that he troubled himself very little about them.

Neither he nor his patron, Archbishop Laud, who has so often been charged with formalism, valued outward observances, or the adornments of religion, except as safeguards and expressions of its essence. Knowing human nature as they did, they could not undervalue those material aids and appliances on which it is always more or less dependent, and which the Universal Church had sanctioned as accessories to her worship, for the double reason of presenting it in a suitable form to the Deity and securing the devotion of her members. But they valued them as the casket which contains a precious jewel, less for its own sake than for its contents. While, therefore, in Jeremy Taylor we find nothing in disparagement of the forms and ceremonies of religion, and much that is indirectly in favour of them, it is nevertheless true that his writings are more concerned with the spiritual truths, with the credenda and postulanda, of religion, than with questions of ritual.

There are two reasons which may be assigned for the direction he takes, independently of his personal

inclination: *viz.*, in the first place, the prejudices of the Puritan school, which were unfavourable to the fair discussion of all ceremonial matters and classed them together indiscriminately as the "rags and trumpery of the whore of Babylon"; and, secondly, the development of a critical and sceptical temper during the later Renaissance, which not infrequently led to a disbelief in fundamental doctrines which threw upon Christian apologists the duty of defending them.

In his defence of the Anglican position, therefore, it was as necessary to avoid provoking its opponents by the discussion of subsidiary questions, which could be left to settle themselves, as it was necessary to defend the essential doctrines on which the outward and visible form rested—and this both against ultra-Protestant and sceptical objectors. In his treatment of controversial matters Jeremy Taylor exhibits a breadth of view which was the necessary consequence of his wide reading in all schools of theology, and his recognition of the fact that the whole truth and nothing but the truth was not to be found exclusively in any religious body.

He occupies consequently a position that has since been called the *Via Media;* and, in holding the balance between rival opinions on either hand, he sometimes swerves from one side to the other in a way that has brought him into a certain discredit with partisans whose vision is limited by the shibboleths of their own party.[1]

[1] "In no writer is it more necessary to observe the *animus* with which he writes; for, giving way to his impetuosity, when he has

And in stating the case of his opponents his candour is apt to lead him to do so at the risk of his own. While, therefore, he has exposed himself to criticism as uncertain or ambiguous, he has earned the good opinion of more generous commentators for an eclecticism, or catholicity, which is not afraid of looking at the truth on all sides and in all its aspects, of gathering up its scattered fragments wherever it may find them, and of fearlessly stating the result of its investigations. History repeats itself: and there is a striking resemblance between the controversies of the seventeenth century and those of our own day, whether arising out of the higher criticism external to the Church or doctrinal questions within it. On one hand Jeremy Taylor shows himself an appreciative and fair adversary: on the other, a staunch upholder of what he conceives to be catholic truth. It is not surprising, therefore, that men of the most opposite opinions find in him something sympathetic and something antagonistic at the same time; as may in fact be said of the truth itself, which is distributed over various minds and characters in different colours and aspects without destroying its own integrity.

said anything that would give offence, or which he thought incautious, it was not his custom, so far as we can judge, to expunge or soften it, but to insert something else of an opposite colour, without taking any pains to harmonise his context. He probably revised hardly at all what he had written before it went to the press. This makes it easy to quote passages, especially short ones, from Taylor which do not exhibit his real way of thinking; if indeed his way of thinking itself did not vary with the wind that blew from different regions of controversy."—Hallam's *Literature of Europe* (1600-1650).

"The fountain, at whose source these drink their beams,
With light supplies them in as many modes
As there are splendours that it shines on: each,
According to the virtue it conceives,
Differing in love and sweet affection.
Look then how lofty and how huge in breadth
The Eternal Might, which, broken and dispersed
Over such countless mirrors, yet remains
Whole in Itself and One."

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Note.—The authorship of the discourse on *Auxiliary Beauty*, or *Artificial Handsomeness*, is disputed. Bishop Heber thinks it was the work of Mrs. Katherine Philips, the *Orinda* of Taylor's *Friendship*, but says he does not care who wrote it, "provided it does not pass for Taylor's". Mr. Gosse suggests Christiana, Countess of Devonshire, as "a blue stocking, an ardent Churchwoman, a relic of the old Oxford days, and a frequenter of the worldly wits, who, for all her formal piety, was nothing of a precisian," and who, moreover, had the claims of a benefactress on Jeremy Taylor. On the other hand, although the first edition was anonymous, another edition appeared in Taylor's life-time (1662) with the initials "J. T., D.D.," the same as prefixed to the first edition of his undisputed essay on *Friendship;* and, notwithstanding his residence in Ireland, we can hardly think he had no opportunity of repudiating the work if it were not his. The probability is that he had a hand in its composition, or revision, and may have amused himself, while obliging the authoress, during his banishment—after the example of St. John-the-Divine, whom he quotes with approval as "relaxing himself with a tame partridge" on the Island of Patmos. The *Discourse* has been also ascribed to Dr. Gauden, who claims the sole authorship of the debated *Eikon Basilike :* the title of the *Eikon* is said to have been suggested by Jeremy Taylor (*vide* Hollingworth). It may be interesting to the reader to compare the little work on beauty with De Quincey's essay on the *Toilette of the Hebrew Lady* (vol. vi., ed. Masson).

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APPENDIX.

TAYLOR'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

It is fortunate for modern readers that Jeremy Taylor was not troubled with those conscientious scruples which have prevented certain eminent Churchmen of our own day from having their portraits taken. Indeed there are few authors who have so freely allowed them to be introduced into their own writings, when published in their life-time; and that, not merely as copies of a single original, but in characters and attitudes which exhibit much variety in detail, while agreeing in the main features of the countenance. The difference here is so slight between the earliest and the latest of contemporaneous engravings as to suggest a common idealisation, or at least that the influence of suffering and advancing age has not been sufficiently regarded. On the other hand, we have to remember the comparative shortness of Taylor's life, and the buoyant spirits which would go to counteract its miseries, as well as his aversion to that severe asceticism which might have destroyed his natural beauty. On the whole we can well believe that when his face was illuminated by the spirit within, *e.g.*, when he was preaching at St. Paul's Cathedral, or at St. Mary's, Oxford, in the fresh vigour of early manhood, it was, "as it were, the face of an angel," as described by one who then saw it.

The best known, and most easily accessible, oil portraits are those in the Halls of All Souls' College, Oxford, and Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. The first of these was painted in Taylor's life-time, and was presented to the College by Mrs. Wray. The second is a copy of it made by Mr. E. U. Eddis in 1838; but the similarity in the countenance, thus accounted for, is observable in most of the engravings, where the dress

varies, but nowhere includes the Episcopal chimere and rochet. The face so closely agrees with the character of the man, as elsewhere revealed, that it excites no sort of surprise when beheld for the first time, except that which may be supposed to arise on recognising a friend after a long absence. Here is no mask to conceal what lies beneath, but the *Facies nativitatis suæ* which reveals the soul.

The eyes are full and soft with a certain poetic dreaminess about them, suggesting that while they are looking at you, they are also looking beyond you, and are occupied with things to you invisible. The face is shaven, with the exception of an incipient moustache, and the hair escapes in flowing curls from beneath the close-fitting skull-cap. The nose and mouth are fairly large, indicating a commanding character and the gift of eloquence, while the delicately formed nostrils and thin curved lips betoken sensitiveness and refinement. The hand is light and graceful, with long taper fingers, very similar to that of Albert Dürer in the drawing which he made of himself in boyhood. The portrait, in short, is that of a poet and a lover, with whom one can scarcely help falling in love.

"*Extinctus amabitur idem.*"

NOTE TO CHAPTER VI.

The following passage from a distinguished modern writer, though making no reference to Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying*, seems to indicate with tolerable clearness the views therein enunciated :—

"The rage for defining which seized so large a portion of Christendom, both Roman and non-Roman, during the Reformation troubles, and the fixed determination to turn the definitions, when made, into impassable barriers between hostile ecclesiastical divisions, are among the most obvious, but not, I think, among the most satisfactory, facts in modern religious history. To the definitions taken simply as well-intentioned efforts to make clear that which was obscure, and systematic that which was confused, I raise no objections. Of the practical necessity for some formal basis of Christian co-operation I am, as I have said, most firmly convinced. But not every formula

which represents even the best theological opinion of its age is therefore fitted to unite men for all time in the furtherance of common religious objects, or in the support of common religious institutions; and the error committed in this connection by the divines of the Reformation, and the counter-Reformation, largely consisted in the mistaken supposition that symbols and decrees, in whose very elaboration could be read the sure prophecy of decay, were capable of providing a convenient framework for a perpetual organisation."

—The Right Hon. A. J. Balfour
in *The Foundations of Belief.*

NOTE TO CHAPTER XIII.

"Until the Tractarian revival there were many minor customs still surviving which have since been altered or disused through ignorance of their historical pedigree. The Tractarian leaders were theologians, and with but few exceptions knew little of ecclesiology or even of liturgiology. And so it has happened that much old English ceremonial was deliberately given up as being Protestant accretion of late growth. Instead of retaining this, they, or rather their immediate successors, modelled their ceremonial on what they saw in their Continental tours, that is to say, on the use which the Bishop of Rome was endeavouring more or less successfully to impress on the other churches of his obedience."

—Mr. E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley
on *English Ceremonial.*

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